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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1453

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

YUGOSLAVIA'S TITO CONGRATULATES BULGARIA ON LIBERATION DAY

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 77 p 4 AU

[Text] President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito has sent the following telegram to Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

"It is with satisfaction that on the occasion of the anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation, on behalf of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the LCY Presidium, the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and on my own behalf, I send to you, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people cordial congratulations and best wishes for constant progress in the socialist construction of your country, for the well-being of the Bulgarian people and for your personal happiness. I express my conviction that the cooperation between our two neighboring socialist countries will develop in the interests of our peoples, mutual understanding, good neighborly relations and peace and socialism in the world."

CSO: 2800

ALBANIA

NEED FOR WAGING CLASS STRUGGLE IN ALL AREAS STRESSED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 4 Apr 77 pp 80-92

[Article by the Editorial Board: "The Correct and Resolute Conduct of the Class Struggle in All Fields--a Prime Task for Communists and the Masses"]

[Text] The Seventh Party Congress, generalizing the historic experience of the class struggle waged thus far and especially the experience of the struggle waged by the party and the masses against the hostile and plotting groups condemned by the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th plenums of the Party Central Committee, underscored the fact that "the whole history of the construction of socialism in Albania is a history of an uncompromising struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, between two courses of development, with internal and external enemies, as well as within the people and the party itself" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 28). Having viewed and treated this struggle with high Marxist-Leninist principle, as an inevitable objective phenomenon which will continue during the whole transitional period from capitalism to communism, as the principal motive force propelling society forward, our party has developed it without wavering and with revolutionary consistency. The rightness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the continuation of the fierce class struggle during the whole transitional period from capitalism to communism has been confirmed by all the positive and negative experience of world socialism.

The continuation of the class struggle between the two courses of development, socialist and capitalist, during the whole transitional period from capitalism to the construction of communism on a worldwide scale is connected with several factors. Even after the construction of the economic base of socialism and the disappearance of the exploiting classes as a class, remnants of those exploiting classes will continue to exist, and will not give up their hopes to bring back the past, but will continue to fight socialism in the most varied forms and will strive to convert their hopes of restoration into efforts for restoration. It is also known that the socialist order comes directly after the capitalist order and, as Marx says in arguing for the necessity of a transitional period from capitalism to communism as a period of struggle between the two courses of development, it "still retains traces

of the old society from every viewpoint, economic, moral and mental." Similarly, there exists the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, which exercises a strong all-around pressure on a country that is building socialism. Finally, as Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized to the Seventh Party Congress, "So long as the class struggle continues, so long as hostile bourgeois pressure from within and without exists, there will also always exist the danger of the rise of new enemies and their activity against socialism" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 130). Hence, the class struggle between the two courses of development will continue to be fierce during the whole transitional period from capitalism to communism. Hence too there is need for knowledge and correct application of the Marxist-Leninist law of the class struggle during this whole period.

The class struggle conducted and led by the party is advancing the revolution and construction of socialism in all directions and on all fronts, insures the victory of the socialist way over the capitalist way, relieves and cleanses society of negative phenomena, of old and new enemies, defends the party, the state and the whole country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and from the restoration of capitalism, cleanses the consciences of our people from alien ideological remnants and influences, anneals the proletarian world outlook, and plays a great role in exposing the avenues of the rise of revisionism.

This is why the question of whether or not one adheres or not to the class struggle, whether or not one conducts it in a consistent manner is of paramount importance for the fate of the revolution, socialism and communism. All the great victories that our people have won are related to the fact that our party has resolutely adhered to the class struggle and used it always as the main motive force. In the future too, our party and people will adhere to this line, which has also been sanctioned in the Constitution of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania.

The modern revisionists, headed by the Soviets, for their own traitorous, counterrevolutionary and antisocialist purposes, have preached and are preaching that after the construction of the economic base of socialism in the phase of "developed socialism" the class struggle ceases to be the motive force of socialist society, since, according to them, the exploiting classes have been liquidated and harmony, collaboration between the classes, has taken the place of the class struggle. Thus, the Soviet revisionists and their followers in theory have for some time declared the class struggle in their countries to be over. Actually, the class struggle continues there. It is being waged between the new bourgeois class in power and the working class which is being oppressed and exploited. The working class in those countries is rising up in strikes, demonstrations and clashes with the police and the troops defending the rule and interests of the new bourgeoisie. This is best confirmed by the events in Poland, the workers' strikes in the revisionist Soviet Union and in other revisionist countries. Hence, the revisionist thesis about the extinction of the class struggle under socialism is nothing but a fraud aimed at disarming the working class and putting it to sleep, and to open the way to the restoration of capitalism.

Under these conditions, the Marxist-Leninist thesis of our party that the class struggle is an objective phenomenon and the main motive force of the socialist society until the construction of communism on a worldwide scale is in open opposition to all the revisionist preachings. It is a contribution by our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the defense and creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle. It is a powerful and necessary means of advancing the cause of socialism and communism.

The objective reasons for the development of the class struggle exist in every field, and therefore it is being objectively waged in every direction, political, ideological, economic, military, organizational, and so forth. "Our practice of revolution and socialist construction," declared Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Seventh Party Congress, "teaches us that class struggle is never complete unless waged in all its main directions, political, economic and ideological" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 136). In this sense, any underestimation of the one or the other aspect or front of the class struggle would lead to distortions with negative consequences, to the weakening of our class struggle as a whole. Therefore, the party calls our attention to the need to see, evaluate and wage the class struggle as it is developing in reality, intricate and intertwined in every direction. However, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that on every front it also has its own objectives, directions and peculiarities, which must be recognized in order to conduct it correctly and consistently.

On the political front, the class struggle conducted and led by our party has as its chief objectives the defense and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the insurance and strengthening of the party's role in the whole life of the country, the defense of the fatherland and the unity between party and people, and, as its main directions, the overall fight against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, the fight against internal enemies, old and new, and the fight against bureaucratism and liberalism.

Our party throughout its activity has correctly waged and led the class struggle against all the efforts and designs of the internal class enemies, old and new, against the aggressive aims and activities of imperialism and social-imperialism to overthrow and destroy our socialist order by blockade and starvation, by blackmail and threats to the point of military diversion and aggression, as well as through peaceful degeneration and counterrevolution; against every kind of antisocialist activity. All these efforts and designs, both of the bourgeois and revisionists from without, and by the class enemies within the country, have a single common platform: the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism in our country. Therefore, its preservation and strengthening, the defense of the socialist order, by sharpening revolutionary vigilance and correctly waging the class struggle have been and remain an important task for the whole party and our workers.

An important direction for the class struggle in preserving and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has been and remains the

fight against bureaucratism and liberalism, against those two dangerous internal enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. Against them, our party has fought continuously and has taken a number of concrete measures to strengthen the ties of communists, the cadres and the government with the masses, to curtail the apparatuses, to involve the masses actively in the government of the country, to perfect direct worker and peasant control, and to democratize and revolutionize the whole life of the country. But the party does not consider the fight against bureaucratism and liberalism to have been finished, for it remains a serious danger at all times. Anyone who believes that this danger has been overcome is seriously mistaken, is dulling his vigilance, and is wittingly or unwittingly leaving the way free for degeneration of the socialist order.

Liberal and bureaucratic concepts and practices are also encountered in our people. Therefore, the fight against them must always be waged with intensity and without letup in our own ranks as well. It is especially important that this fight be carried on, not by campaigns, but continually and frontally, both against the distortions of bureaucratic routine, technocratism and intellectualism, but also against manifestation of bourgeois-revisionist liberal influences. These phenomena are an expression of the class struggle and show clearly the enemies' efforts to corrupt and debase our people and our whole socialist order. Therefore, the fight against them must be systematic and organized, being made a cause for the masses, to the end that the inclusion and participation of all in it may be assured. The spreading of the illusion in some party organizations since the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee that the accounts had been settled with liberalism actually has had the result that many bourgeois-revisionist practices and concepts have been disguised and concealed, and in some cases the execution of the party's directives has been harmed or obstructed. And the waging of the fight against bureaucratism by jumps leads one to weaken it and cultivate alien phenomena, which gnaw the dictatorship of the proletariat from within. Therefore, as the Seventh Party Congress stressed, the fight against bureaucratism and liberalism remains ever timely and demands the inclusion and participation of everyone.

On the economic front the class struggle by us has the object of defending, strengthening and consolidating the socialist economic-social order, preserving and strengthening socialist ownership of the means of production, perfecting socialist relations in production by revolutionary means, performing the tasks set in the state plans by applying the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance in order to make our economy as independent and autarkic as possible, strengthening the socialist attitude toward work, and so forth. These objectives are served by the consistent fight against the internal and external enemies who attempt and will attempt to undermine and debase our socialist economy, against thieves, parasites, idlers, and middlemen who, whether from the enemy's ranks or from our own, serve capitalism by their antisocialist actions.

The class struggle waged by the party and the masses in the economic field must be understood in all its breadth and not narrowed down to a fight

against the thieves and misusers of socialist property, as sometimes happens. The class struggle is waged on this front as a fight to resolve the contradictions arising and facing us in the process of building socialism. This fight is waged between us and the enemy, but also within our ranks. It is waged in the field of property, to perfect the correct relationship between the property of all the people and the property of the group, and between the property of the group and the cooperativist plot, as well as to increase that property and administer it well. It is waged in the field of distribution in order to narrow the essential differences between town and country, to narrow the differences between plains and mountain areas, to narrow the differences between the various strata of the population in all fields of life. It is waged in the field of direction and planning, against bureaucratic and liberal manifestations that may lead to distortion of the principles of our socialist direction and planning and the party's economic policy.

The class enemy, who in most cases throws a stone and hides his hand when communists and workers lack vigilance, also launches into open activity to damage and steal common property, and to sabotage wherever he finds favorable ground. The traitorous group of Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi, Kico Ngele, and so forth, carried on extensive enemy activity in the economic field. This group, as Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Seventh Party Congress, attempted to distort the party line on the development of the economy, and to introduce revisionist forms and methods of self-administration. It engaged in sabotaging activity with grave consequences in key sectors, such as planning, petroleum extraction, foreign trade, and so forth. The object of these **enemies** was to weaken and undermine the base of our system, to open the way to the economic and political subjugation and enslavement of our country by foreigners.

The object of the class struggle in the economy is also the liberal attitudes toward those who violate proletarian discipline, who administer and direct the economy badly, who place their personal, departmental or sectorial interest above the general interest, who have the tendency to take from society more than they give it. In the field of the attitude toward work, our class struggle is directed against such alien manifestations as absence from and lateness for work without cause, non-fulfillment of work norms, turning out products of poor quality, the tendency to demand and run after easy jobs, the resistance and hesitation of some young men and women to work in agriculture, in construction, in mines, and so forth.

On the ideological front, the class struggle being waged by our side has the objective of defending Marxist-Leninist ideology, which has become dominant in our society; of rooting out the remnants of the alien ideologies inherited from the past and the influences of present-day bourgeois-revisionist ideology with the principal purpose of making our Marxist-Leninist ideology and world outlook more and more every day into the only ideology in the conscience of everyone, so that our people may be ever in a state of revolution; and of working and striving throughout life with self-abnegation for the great cause of the party, for socialism and communism.

Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha told the Seventh Party Congress, the fight on the ideological front is one of the main directions of the class struggle: "It is a great front of combat, very important and complex, demanding the party's permanent attention" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Congress, p 134). This is so because everything, every matter, every action that we perform passes through our conscience and depends upon the ideology that inspires and guides us. If one is guided by the ideology of the working class, by revolutionary concepts, one's actions too will be revolutionary, in the service of the revolution and socialism. On the contrary, if one is guided by alien, regressive, idealistic, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts, one's actions too will be alien to our society, anti-socialist and regressive. Therefore, when we speak of the class struggle on the ideological front, we have in mind the fight to root out the concepts and remnants of the old ideologies, the influences of the present-day bourgeois-revisionist ideology, and to insure the triumph of revolutionary concepts, to convert them into deep inner convictions and guidance for action in every field of the activity of every communist and worker.

The Seventh Party Congress stressed that, as an anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary ideology and practice, "the chief danger and the chief enemy for our party, as well as for the whole international revolutionary communist and worker movement has been and remains rightist opportunism, revisionism." This is shown by all the battles fought and won by our party against the rightist enemy groups. It is also shown by all the negative experience that has occurred in a good many ex-socialist countries and in the international communist movement in these last decades. Still more threatening has been this danger since the conversion of the Soviet Union and some ex-socialist countries into capitalist countries and the bourgeoisization of many communist parties of the world. Moreover, in a socialist country the enemies do not come out openly with the banner of anticommunism, but use pseudo-Marxism, liberalism and peaceful revisionist counterrevolution as a weapon to overthrow socialism. Under these conditions, it is a prime duty for us to be ever resolute and inflexible to the end in the fight against revisionism, against its hostile "theories" and attempts and against every other kind of opportunism, old or new. The course of open and uncompromising struggle which our party has chosen to unmask and defeat imperialism, revisionism and every other kind of opportunism, while resolutely defending the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is the only safe way to salvation and victory.

The fact that the class struggle is being waged not only between us and our external and internal enemies, but also within the people and inside the very ranks of the party is one of the aspects of both its breadth and its complexity. And it must be said that this class struggle too, which is taking place in our ranks, is all-embracing and includes all the fields of activity and life, political, economic, organizational, ideological, educational, cultural, military, social, and so forth, and has the purpose of strengthening our socialist order and the dictatorship of the proletariat, of strengthening the unity of the people and their unity with the party, of rooting out of the consciences of our people the remnants of alien ideologies and rooting in their moral and political stature. But correct, unerring and successful

conduct of the class struggle within the people dictates the need to recognize its peculiarities and bear them well in mind in order to make the proper distinction from the fight against the enemies, so that we may use the most suitable methods and forms for conducting it properly.

The party has constantly made it clear to us that in waging the class struggle within the people we must bear well in mind the fact that this is not only the broadest front of the class struggle, but also the most delicate and complicated, since in it we have to do with our own people, who nevertheless bear certain remnants of the alien ideologies, are influenced by the pressure of the present-day bourgeois-revisionist ideology, and occasionally in their practical activity they retain attitudes and perform acts incompatible with our proletarian ideology and morality, with the interests of the revolution and our socialist construction. Our method of conducting this class struggle is such that the alien maladies, concepts and practices which are antagonistic to our Marxist-Leninist ideology and to our revolutionary practice are combated without mercy, without the least concession, while the patient, who is the carrier of those concepts and practices, is being cured, mainly by the use of the curative method of persuasion. But when the carrier of the alien ideology is a conscious enemy or becomes so, the contradiction between him and society is antagonistic, and therefore the course followed to resolve it will be the revolutionary force of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Although the party is not an arena of the class struggle, the latter is also waged within its ranks, for it is not isolated from the masses, from society, since communists live, fight, act and work together with the masses, and since the party members come from different classes and strata of the population and therefore also bring with them alien remnants and manifestations. On the other hand, communists, like all the workers, encounter the pressure of the class enemy, especially his ideology from within and from without and are not immunized against the influences of that pressure. Hence, persons who degenerate, who fall into antiparty and antisocialist positions may and do emerge even from the ranks of the party. Indeed, the enemies attach special importance to the degeneration of party men to bring about the degeneration of the party as a whole and thus open the way to the rise of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. All these things make it impossible to conceive the life of the party and its continuous revolutionization without a struggle within its ranks to resolve the arising contradictions. This struggle must not be softened or set aside, but must be developed and carried to the end, since it strengthens the true unity of the party's ranks and heightens its revolutionary spirit.

The class struggle in the party is carried on in order to defend and apply the party's sole line, to insure its leading role everywhere and at all times, and to have the communists play a proper vanguard role. Therefore, our party has always correctly and consistently carried on the class struggle in its ranks and has never tolerated the existence of factions, groupings, or two lines. In the process of that struggle, the party has been purged of enemies and been strengthened still more. This is also confirmed by the

class struggle in the party during the last few years, in the process of which enemy and putschist activity has been liquidated in ideology, in the army and in the economy.

But, as Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Seventh Party Congress, the fact that the class struggle is also waged in the midst of the people and the party, in the conscience of everyone, has caused some to fail to distinguish and properly evaluate the hostile content of the alien manifestations and influences and to make the mistake of believing that those remnants and influences have been rooted out and no longer exist, at a time when they constitute a real danger and may revive again, even when they have received heavy blows. Experience shows that all antisocialist actions and attitudes, such as thefts, damage, breaches of discipline, favoritism, bureaucratic and liberal, patriarchal and conservative, indifferent and conformist, opportunist and sectarian attitudes, even when not committed by enemies, but by our own people, are just as dangerous and harmful and imperil the fate of socialism unless combated severely and consistently and if allowed to assume broad proportions. All these things make the class struggle against them a great and complex war front among the people as well.

The class struggle on all fronts, against enemies and among the people, is a long-lasting one, bound up with economic, social, ideological and political factors. But the fact that it is long-lasting, that it will continue throughout the transitional period from capitalism to communism, does not justify any under-estimating attitude or weakening of our attention to its conduct, under the pretext that if we have not fought today, we will fight tomorrow, and if we have not waged it, let others do it. And in actual fact we encounter communists, cadres and workers who conceive the class struggle as a temporary campaign. There is no other way to explain the fact that time and again certain negative phenomena are reactivated, such as manifestations of bureaucratism, liberalism, misuse of property, lack of discipline at work and in the schools, delinquency, alien fashions and tastes in clothing and conduct. This is so because a good many people, even communists and cadres, have a narrow understanding and give a temporary character to the fight against those manifestations, which are nothing else than expressions of the class struggle. But such an understanding and attitude embody dangers for socialism, for if we wage the class struggle by campaigns, this means that for certain periods one forgets the class enemies, their hostile ideology and activity; it means that one leaves the initiative to the enemy, leaves his hands free to catch you unaware; it means that one wages the class struggle from defensive positions.

Indeed, the class struggle waged and led by our party is being and must always be carried on more from assault positions. This requires that we bear it in mind at all hours and every moment, that we be included actively in it, waging it everywhere and at all times, at work, in the schools, in the fields, on the street, in military training, in public places, in the meetings of the party base organizations, in the Front, Trade-Union, Youth, Women's and other organizations. Thus, by carrying on the class struggle

in an uninterrupted manner and not by campaigns, as well as in a thorough and not a partial manner, in a front and not in a onesided manner, both against liberalism and against bureaucratism, both against the remnants of the ideologies of the exploiting classes and against the influences and manifestations of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist influences and manifestations, it will be waged correctly and with great effectiveness.

Of great theoretical and practical importance in understanding and correctly waging the class struggle under socialism is also the thesis of the Seventh Party Congress concerning the dialectic connection between the main fronts of the class struggle, the political, economic and ideological front. What connects these fronts is the fact that the class struggle in every field is, in the last analysis, waged for the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to strengthen the party's leading role and defend the fatherland.

In general, the class struggle is so understood, and is therefore being waged correctly in all fields and on all fronts. But there are also cases where it is understood and waged better in the political field, whereas in some aspects of the economic and ideological front, the way of life and conduct, especially within the family, in the field of education and culture this struggle is not thoroughly understood and consequently is waged with gaps and not on a broad front. Therefore, one notes in the development of the struggle in these aspects also cases of manifestation of indifference, conformism, tolerance of alien manifestations and practices. For example, there are some communists who talk about the class struggle, but in practice they do not regard many actions and kinds of conduct as manifestation of it and do not maintain a class attitude toward them. It happens, for example, that bad jokes are told in their presence, but they justify them as humor and good fun. Occasionally someone brings up the saying that "favoritism and friendship never die," "if you didn't have friends, you'd never get anything done," but they either approve this or acquiesce in silence. There are also some persons who immeasurably inflate the shortcomings and weaknesses in work and throw the blame on the government organs instead of criticizing the bureaucrats; but such attitudes are time and again passed over in silence by some communists, who do not maintain their attitude, do not explain and persuade people by striking at and condemning their alien talk, concepts and actions. This happens because, in the first place, they do not view these phenomena as expressions of the class struggle and, on the other hand, they wrongly believe that they will spoil things with their comrades if they talk about these manifestations and combat them. But in doing so, we cannot say that they are waging the class struggle correctly. Toward such manifestations one must maintain an uncompromising and combative class attitude even though their exponents are some of our people, for otherwise they will harden and assume an acute political character. Communists, cadres and all workers have the duty to maintain an uncompromising class attitude also toward every concept and manifestation of the old conservative and patriarchal ideologies, which cause conflicts in the family and society; toward gossip, revenge, intrigue, controversy, hatred, which phenomena the enemy exploits to break the unity of the people and their unity with the party.

Our party has continually given the orientation and again stressed at its Seventh Congress that in waging the class struggle a principled attitude must be held in every case, without lapsing either into opportunism or into sectarianism. Both of these phenomena are encountered in life.

Opportunistic are the passive, non-militant attitudes of those communists and base organizations which do not say "stop" to evil-doing, who keep quiet when they see that the party's norms are trampled under foot and its line is violated, and who do not have the courage to criticize shortcomings and weaknesses. Such attitudes have been noted in those base organizations in which the party's enemies in the ideological, art and culture fields, in the army, in the economy, and so forth, have carried on their activity. Opportunistic are also the "softhearted" attitudes held by some communists toward the class enemy, the petty-bourgeois sentimentality toward the people who degenerate, who violate the norms of society, the laws of the state.

But, as Comrade Enver Hoxha declared to the Seventh Party Congress, the party line is also harmed by hard sectarian attitudes, which are equally damaging and dangerous. These attitudes appear in certain party base organizations, communists and cadres which have tended to view every shortcoming or weakness of anyone with doubt and find it easier to use administrative methods where persuasion and education should be employed. Some party organizations and communists hold sectarian attitudes particularly toward those excluded from the party for non-hostile activity, looking askance at them, refraining from activating them in social tasks and extending those attitudes even to the members of their families and their relatives. Sectarrians, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, pretend to be "principled and consistent revolutionaries," but in fact are opportunists, and they act in this way in order to keep on the inside," while there are also some who use sectarian attitudes to mask their hostile positions. Therefore, we say that sectarian attitudes are also opportunist deviations, also having their source in a misunderstanding of the two types of contradictions existing in our society, in the confusion of antagonistic contradictions with non-antagonistic ones. In this sense, opportunism cannot be successfully combated unless sectarianism has been combated at the same time; and vice versa.

The class struggle is waged successfully when it is widely and most actively participated in by the working masses and primarily the working class, which is the leading class of society and has its own party to guide it and the Marxist-Leninist ideology to light the way. The working class and the cooperativist peasants are the main force in waging the class struggle, while the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party is the basic condition for insuring the correct conduct of that struggle.

Also of special importance for the correct and successful conduct of the class struggle is its frontal assault against both external and internal enemies, among whom, as Comrade Enver Hoxha once more stressed to the Seventh Party Congress, there are very close ties and collaboration. In these ties and this coordination of the activity of the external and internal

enemies they are united by a common ideology of anticommunism, that of the bourgeois and revisionists, that of anticommunism, as well as their common aim, the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism.

Our experience has shown that in their struggle against the revolution and socialism the internal enemies pin great hopes on the external enemy, while the external enemy also acts against us through our internal enemies. This connection between the internal and the external front of the class struggle has once more been clearly shown by the hostile plotting activity of the antiparty groups in these last few years, as exposed and smashed by the party; the activity of the traitorous group of Fadil Pacrami and Todi Lubonjes with their associates in the field of ideology and culture; of the traitorous and putschist group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Cako in the army; of the traitorous group of Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi, Kico Ngjele with associates in the economic field. These troupes have been imperialist-revisionist agencies within the party and state. "These enemies," Comrade Enver Hoxha told the Seventh Party Congress, "in close conjunction and collaboration with one another and in coordination with certain foreign revisionist states, sought to liquidate the party, overthrow the people's government, open the way to revisionism and restore capitalism in Albania" (Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 143). The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have taught us that even when the internal enemies are not tied by direct strings to the external enemy, they have been henchmen of the bourgeoisie, for they have served their common purpose by their activity.

Another important factor in these ties and collaboration between the internal and external fronts of the class struggle that must be borne in mind by everyone is the other thesis of Comrade Enver Hoxha that "...this collaboration may become stronger and very dangerous if we are neglectful, lack vigilance and do not wage a determined fight against it" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 131). But the conversion or not of this possibility into a reality, the strengthening or weakening of this coordination and organization of the forces of the internal and external enemies does not depend upon them alone, but also upon our stand. If we are not neglectful, but constantly mount a revolutionary vigil and wage a determined fight against the internal and external class enemy, we will be able to expose and smash every activity of his. This requires that this collaboration between the internal and the external enemies shall not be underestimated, but well recognized and combated in due time and consistently in order to crush every enemy activity wherever it may present itself and from wherever it comes to us.

Of great importance in annihilating the plans of the external and the internal enemies is the continual strengthening of our internal front, which the enemy is trying to weaken. This front will be strengthened by a consistent waging of the class struggle, by raising the revolutionary vigilance of the masses, by further strengthening the party and the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by further strengthening the unity between people and party, and so forth.

The further strengthening of our internal front is an indispensable condition for coping successfully with the imperialist-revisionists encirclement, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Seventh Party Congress, "...is not at all passive and purely geographic, but a menacing and active encirclement, which is fighting us in all fields and directions" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 132). The point is that we must correctly understand and evaluate the danger of that encirclement and organize and conduct the struggle and our concrete efforts to resist and break it in all fields and directions,

It is a fact that the imperialists and social-imperialists exercise an all-around pressure on our country in all field, employing both the military threat and the tactics of peaceful degeneration of the socialist order, especially by attaching particular importance to ideological aggression, which is precisely the counterrevolutionary course that has yielded world capitalism so much benefit in revisionist degeneration and the reversion of the Soviet Union and a good many other countries to capitalism.

In their efforts to disrupt our internal front and encourage the antisocialist and counterrevolutionary elements within the country, the external enemies employ every means and form of their powerful and unbridled propaganda, such as radio, television, film, press, diplomatic and commercial representatives, tourists, sailors, chauffeurs, cultural and sports groups, postal communications, and so forth. At present, several radio stations are operating against our country, tens of reactionary newspapers and magazines are being published, and diversionist points and centers are being set up and are functioning. And all this activity, which constitutes a great ideological aggression, is being organized and directed by the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, by capitalism and revisionism. With their whole arsenal of hostile foreign propaganda the foreign enemies aim to spread a pacifist atmosphere, a spirit of compromise, conciliation and capitulation. The purpose of this very dangerous and diabolic tactic is to extinguish revolutionary vigilance and encourage liberalism and disruption in every way. In the economic field, our imperialist and revisionist enemies are trying by every means to sabotage the construction of socialism and undermine our country's economic and political independence, employing for this purpose an especially fierce economic blockade and discrimination in trade relations.

We re-emphasize these things because there are even among us persons who have a superficial and simplistic notion of the danger of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, underestimate now the danger of military aggression, now the difficulties resulting from the economic blockade, now the threat of foreign ideological diversion, and do not connect the development of situations with their duties, which everyone must perform in order to withstand and break this active encirclement. Thus, planning while retaining reserves, seeking investments and imported materials beyond our possibilities, chasing after the realization and overfulfillment of the norm and quantity to the detriment of quality, trying to get as much as possible from the state, from

society and giving them as little as possible, leaving no stone unturned to find an easy job and shun difficult work where the fatherland needs it, and so forth, means failing to have properly understood the situation of encirclement.

At the Seventh Party Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha also pointed out the ways by which the imperialist-revisionist encirclement could be resisted and broken. This will be accomplished by making great and small aware of the hostile character of that encirclement, by strengthening the internal front in all directions, in the field of defense, the economy, politics and ideology, and by waging the class struggle consistently, for the more we strengthen our internal front, the more difficult will it be for the external enemy front to operate against us. The encirclement will be resisted and broken successfully when everyone works with discipline and a high revolutionary spirit, and when he truly works and fights as if encircled in order to break the encirclement, by applying the great revolutionary principle of self-reliance in all fields of our life.

Comprehension of and resistance to the situation of encirclement requires that all our people, and above all the communists, live daily with the internal and external political situations, and that everyone, as the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us, view their duties in close conjunction with these situations, evaluate them correctly and work with a high spirit of self-abnegation and sacrifice, being ever ready, vigilant and resolved to combat all efforts and pressures from enemies. Against encirclement, the party teaches us, one does not fight just one time and by campaigns, but continually every day with unshakeable faith and optimism about the future of socialism and communism.

A necessary condition for an ever correct and consistent comprehension and conduct of the class struggle on all fronts and in all directions is the study and assimilation of the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. These teachings are a basic and necessary nourishment, for they help everyone to maintain a class attitude in his thoughts and actions and to fight consistently against those thoughts and actions, those manifestations and influences which run counter to the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our party, and thus to hold positions of proletarian partisanship in the process of the class struggle. This demands that all of the party's teachings, but especially those concerning the class struggle, shall be thoroughly assimilated and applied in practice, with ideological and political clarity about the phenomena and situations within and outside of the country, with full conviction about the danger of the aims and actions of the internal and external class enemies and about the danger of alien manifestations and bourgeois-revisionist influences, by making an all-around class analysis of the phenomena so as to wage the class struggle with courage from assault positions and with a high degree of proletarian partisanship, with the object of strengthening the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and our whole socialist order.

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

PRESS CIRCULATION FIGURES--At the present time, 25 newspapers with an annual circulation of 53,091,788 copies and 54 reviews with an annual circulation of 3,583,936 copies are being published in Albania. ZERI I POPULLIT alone has a circulation of 108,000 copies per day. Some 14 local newspapers, with a [total] circulation of 40,000 copies per issue are published. The annual circulation of ZERI I RINISE (4,160,000 copies) is $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the total annual circulation of all the newspapers and reviews published before the liberation of Albania. [Excerpts] [Tirana YLLI in Albanian Aug 77 p 3]

CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV, TODOROV GREET DPRK COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 77 p 1,7 AU

[Greetings message from Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, and Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Kim Il-song, DPRK president, and Pak Song-chol, chairman of the DPK Administration Council, on the occasion of the DPRK National holiday]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, and Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Kim Il-song, president of the DPRK, and Pak Song-chol, chairman of the DPRK Administration Council, on the occasion of the DPRK national holiday:

On the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the establishment of the DPRK, on behalf of the BCP, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, the entire Bulgarian people and on our personal behalf, we send most cordial greetings and wishes to you, to the Korean Workers Party Central Committee, the DPRK Central People's Committee, the Administration Council and the entire working people of the republic.

The creation of the first state of workers and peasants in the history of Korea, which was made possible thanks to the liberating mission of the Soviet Army in the giant fight of the people against fascism and the selfless revolutionary struggle of the Korean patriots under the leadership of the communists, was an important event in the victorious advance of socialism on the Asian continent.

During the historically short period since then, the freedom-loving and heroic Korean people, under the leadership of the Korean Workers Party and in close cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, have made a significant contribution to the history of the peoples' struggle against foreign aggression and to the construction of socialism. They have turned the northern part of their country, once a poor and backward country, into a socialist state with a modern industry and developed agriculture.

These remarkable achievements of fraternal Korea are further proof of the eternal significance of the ideas of the Great October--the brightest event of our century--which opened a new era in the history of mankind six decades ago.

Bulgarian communists and the entire Bulgarian people warmly greet the Korean people's great achievements, and they wish them new successes in socialist construction and express their constant solidarity with their struggle for a peaceful unification of the country.

We are happy to note that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, countries and peoples, based upon the unshakable foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are developing successfully and fruitfully. We believe that the new and rich possibilities for cooperation and collaboration which are opening before our peoples will be utilized for the benefit of our people, for strengthening the power of the socialist countries and all revolutionary forces in the world, in the name of world peace and cooperation.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

DEFENSE MINISTER'S ORDER OF THE DAY ON NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Sep 77 p 3 AU

[Order of the day by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Bulgarian minister of national defense, on the occasion of 9 September, Bulgaria's national holiday]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, sailors, sergeants and petty officers,

Comrade officers, generals and admirals,

Comrade workers, technicians, engineers, and employees of military enterprises and organizations,

Soldiers of the reservist forces:

Today our motherland and its armed forces are festively celebrating the 33d anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The victory won by our people on 9 September 1944 under the leadership of the BCP and with the decisive help of the Soviet Army laid the foundation for a new epoch in the history of our country. Bulgaria confidently started along the road of socialism and communism.

During the past 33 years our country underwent a profound transformation. From a backward and poor country into a developed industrial-agrarian socialist country with modern industry and a developed and highly mechanized agriculture, and with an unprecedented blossoming of science, education and culture.

The huge successes in all areas of life in our country are a result of the toil of the workers, cooperated peasants and the people's intelligentsia, under the wise leadership of the BCP, the fraternal and selfless assistance of the great Soviet country and our cooperation with the countries of the socialist community. Now our people and the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are selflessly working to implement the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and the BCP Central Committee July Plenum, and to worthily greet the Great 60th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution and the 100th anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman yoke.

The lifegiving Bulgarian-Soviet friendship achieved a real blossoming during the years of the people's regime. Now this friendship has entered a new stage--the stage of comprehensive cooperation and even more comprehensive coming together between our fraternal countries, parties, peoples and armies. The visit by the Bulgarian Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Leonid Brezhnev are opening new horizons for developing Bulgarian-Soviet friendship.

This year we are celebrating our greatest national holiday in a complex and contradictory international situation. The imperialistic and reactionary forces actively oppose detente in international relations and the peaceful policy of the countries of the socialist community. The capitalist countries are increasing their military budgets, continuing the arms race and beginning the production of new kinds of weapons of mass destruction. Ever so frequently they intervene in the internal affairs of other countries and maintain hotbeds of local wars in various parts of the world. This obligates us to constantly increase our revolutionary vigilance and to work tirelessly to strengthen the defensive capability of our socialist motherland.

The soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are greeting the holiday of freedom with new, even higher successes in combat and political preparation. Closely united around the BCP Central Committee, they are always prepared to implement their patriotic and internationalist duty together with the armies of the other Warsaw Pact member countries, led by the invincible Soviet Army.

Comrade soldier and commanders, military employees and workers and reservist soldiers:

I greet you most cordially on the occasion of 9 September, our national holiday. I wish you much health and strength and new, ever higher successes in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress to further increase the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army.

To mark the 33d anniversary of the socialist revolution I order:

That festive fireworks displays be staged in the capital of our motherland, Sofia, and the cities of Plovdiv, Skiven and Varna on 9 September.

Long live the glorious USSR and its invincible army, our liberator, brother and ally!

Glory to the BCP, the organizer and inspirer of all our victories!

[Signed] Army General Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES ON BULGARIA'S NATIONAL HOLIDAY

From Cuba's Fidel Castro

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 77 p 4 AU

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following telegram from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the State Council and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

On the occasion of the celebration of the 33d anniversary of the liberation of the Bulgarian People's Republic, it is a particular pleasure for me to convey to you, and through you to the fraternal Bulgarian people, to the BCP, to the State Council and to the Government of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the most ardent greetings on behalf of the Communist Party and Government of the Republic of Cuba.

The Bulgarian people, who were poor and exploited before the triumph of the revolution, waged a selfless struggle for their legitimate rights, for the freedom and liberation of their country, and achieved a glorious victory on 9 September 1944.

Bulgaria, loyal heir to Georgi Dimitrov's legacy, "achieved within two or three decades what other peoples, under different conditions, were able to achieve only within a century." [Quotation from Dimitrov]

The people of Cuba most sincerely rejoice at the remarkable successes achieved by the fraternal Bulgarian people in their efforts to implement in practice the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and the decisions adopted by the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

On the occasion of your significant holiday, please accept our most sincere and most ardent wishes for a constant strengthening of the fraternal relations between our two peoples and between our two communist parties and governments,

and our wishes for the prosperity and progress of the fraternal Bulgarian people as well as for your health and personal happiness.

From Mongolia's Tsedenbal

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 77 p 4 AU

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following telegram from Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, first secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium, and Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the People's Great Hural Presidium, and the MPR Council of Ministers, as well as on behalf of all Mongolian people and on our own behalf, we convey to you and, through you to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, as well as to the fraternal Bulgarian people, the most sincere greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the 33d anniversary of the victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

During the years of the people's government the Bulgarian People's Republic was transformed into a developed, industrialized socialist state, thanks to the selfless efforts of the Bulgarian people, under the leadership of their militant vanguard--the BCP--and as a result of the unshakable friendship and close cooperation with the great Soviet Union and with the other fraternal countries.

The Mongolian people sincerely rejoice in the historical achievements of the fraternal Bulgarian people, achievements which are contributing to the increase of the prestige and power of worldwide socialism. People in the MPR highly appreciate this important contribution which the Bulgarian People's Republic, through its active foreign policy, coordinated with the policy of the fraternal countries, is making to the consolidation of the cause of peace and security, to the development of international cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

In celebrating the anniversary of the victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria, we note with pleasure that the fraternal friendship and useful cooperation between our two peoples, parties and states, a friendship and cooperation based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are successfully developing and are being constantly and increasingly enriched by essential new elements and forms.

We are deeply convinced that our relations will be raised to an even higher level as a result of the trends outlined by the 17th MPRP Congress and by the 11th BCP Congress, trends aimed at the comprehensive consolidation of

the unity and cohesion of the countries belonging to the socialist community and at the further intensification of the process of socialist economic integration.

On this remarkable day, the national holiday of the Bulgarian people, with all our hearts, dear comrades, we wish you and the entire fraternal Bulgarian people great successes in building a developed, socialist society in your beautiful country.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE SENDS CONDOLENCES ON DEATH OF JOHN GOLAN

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 77 p 7 AU

[Report on condolences telegram sent by the BCP Central Committee to the Communist Party of Great Britain Executive Committee on the death of John Golan]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain a telegram of condolences on the death of John Golan, former secretary general of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Bulgarian communists, reads the telegram, know John Golan as a man who grew up amid the workers class and dedicated his entire life to its revolutionary struggles. As a former leader of long standing of the Communist Party of Great Britain, he contributed to increasing its authority and influence.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

UPGRADING OF VILLAGE--The State Council has issued a decree in which the former village of Dolna Mitropoliya, Pleven Okrug, is declared a town. Georgi Dimitrov, first secretary of the newly created BCP Town Committee, gave a brief interview during the celebrations on this occasion, describing the most important enterprises of his town and stating that Dolna Mitropoliya today has 4,000 inhabitants, but 7,000 people are working on its territory. [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 77 p 3 AU]

PUBLISHING AGREEMENT WITH USSR--Bulgaria is represented by 1,200 titles at the first Moscow International Book Fair. Most of the Bulgarian books displayed are devoted to the anniversary of the October Revolution and to Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. Today the first agreement on the delivery of books was signed. Yuriy Leonov, chairman of the "International Book" All-Union Enterprise, and Ivan Budinov, general manager of the Bulgarian "Khehus" Foreign Trade Organization, signed an agreement for 1978 which envisages a record exchange of books between the USSR and Bulgaria. [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 77 p 5 AU]

THIRD CONGRESS ON MECHANICS--Sofia, September 13 (BTA)--The third National Congress on Theoretical and Applied Mechanics was opened today at the "Frederic Jolio Curie" International Scientists' Home in Varna. Guests of the congress are prominent scientists and specialists from nearly 20 countries including the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the USA, Greece, Turkey, Japan and India. The Bulgarian experts will present 200 papers on the results of the investigations related to the fulfillment of the national programme on mechanics and its applications in the national economy. A central place in the research work of the Bulgarian scientists occupy the problems and subjects on mechanics of machines, manipulators and robots, industrial pipework transport and automation of fluid and transport processes, on ship mechanics, resistance of underground, exploration of ores and minerals, seismicity, etc. On a considerable part of the scientific problems work is being done jointly with the scientists of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. According to Acad. Bankov, the third session on coordinating the research on mechanics of the socialist countries will be held during the congress. A meeting of the editorial board of the new "Successes of Mechanics" international magazine will also be held. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 13 Sep 77 AU]

'TRIBUNA': PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM BASIC TENET OF MARXISM-Leninism

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 30, 27 Jul 77 pp 8, 9

[Discussion by Karel Simon, Ladislav Hrzal and Jaroslav Kojzar on Internationalism, Patriotism and Nationalism]

[Text] Proletarian socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism are among the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism; both these principles are also among the basic characteristics constituting the moral profile of socialist man. Because deep international conviction of the citizens and love for their socialist country are an important driving force in the building of a socialist society and an indispensable part in the struggle against various hostile ideologies, primarily against nationalism and cosmopolitanism. This is why we are again discussing the subject with Karel Simon, deputy department leader of the CPCZ Central Committee, professor Ladislav Hrzal, and Jaroslav Kojzar, deputy editor-in-chief.

Simon: Beginning with schools, education to internationalism is one of the most important tasks of the political educational work assigned by the 15th CPCZ Congress to all educational institutions. Education to proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism contributes importantly to the consolidation of socialism in our country. It helps strengthen international fraternal ties among the nations of our republic and among the nations of the socialist community. International and patriotic education assists lecturers, propagandists, leading economic workers in large and smaller enterprises, teachers in schools and many others in shaping the moral profile of the new socialist man.

Hrzal: Many historical experiences confirm that proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism are indissolubly tied together. Their importance for the unity and action potential of the revolutionary communist movement were revealed by our experiences in the period of crisis in our party and society in the years 1968-69. Right-wing revisionists and counterrevolutionaries preparing a counterrevolutionary overthrow in the political and ideological sphere aimed mainly at undermining the international outlook of the working people but primarily of the young and of some groups of the intelligentsia.

Simon: To the ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism, they cleverly opposed nationalist bourgeois and anti-Soviet ideology and spread slanderous lies about our allies and friends. They wanted to destroy the fraternal international ties of our people with the Soviet people and the workers of the other countries of the socialist community. Their ultimate aim was to tear our country away from the socialist community, reinstate the bourgeois order and align it with the capitalist front.

Hrzal: In the crisis period true communists and nonparty internationalists took the position of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. They were unmasking by legal and illegal means all those who betrayed the interests of the socialist revolution.

The internationalists have not forgotten the lessons of history. If they were defending our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community--then they were at the same time defending their socialist country--the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. They were aware of the historical reality that without the guarantee of sovereignty, which only the Soviet Union and the socialist community can give us, the Czechoslovak people would, as in the past, not be capable of defending their independence against the imperialist states in the West.

Kojzar: Yes--internationalists--patriots in the years of crisis, were defending Gottwald's principle that the testing stone of proletarian internationalism and of true Marxist-Leninist positions is the attitude towards the first socialist country in the world--the Soviet Union. It is no secret that the representatives of right-wing revisionism and opportunism betrayed the principles of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism and, in accord with anticommunist centers, tried to implant the hostile and amoral ideas of bourgeois nationalism and anti-Sovietism in the consciousness of the people. As a result, some groups of weak people succumbed to nationalist and anti-Soviet tendencies.

Simon: This is quite true. Because, no matter what country he comes from, a true communist respects the fate, history and the existing conditions--just as the rights and freedoms of all countries of the world. He is at the same time irreconcilably opposed to all manifestations of racial and national superiority. The best known Marxist work, the Communist Manifesto, written by Marx and Engels, has on its front page the motto Proletarians of the World Unite. This slogan contains the substance of proletarian internationalism in a nutshell. And experience teaches that in the entire history of the worker movement all revisionists as well as the bourgeoisie waged war against its substance and implementation. It is likewise known that the revolutionary worker movements, led by Marxist-Leninist parties, which acted in accordance with this slogan in their activities and struggle were victorious in the past, are winning in the present and will win in the future.

I am saying nothing new--even though it may seem downright outmoded to some representatives of the worker movement today--that the appeal of the founders of Marxism-Leninism "Proletarians of the World Unite" is the main guideline of communists and of all class conscious working people who are seriously waging a struggle against the power of capital for the rights and freedom of working people.

Hrzal: This is why it is so important to pay attention to the objectives of education to internationalism and patriotism. Its principal scope is the establishment of a correct attitude to the working class and the working people and loyalty to the communist party as the vanguard of the working class and the driving force in our society. Included is education to love of the socialist state and the socialist system, of our nation and its history, especially its progressive traditions--and to the determination to defend all this against the class enemy. Without our country it is the education to mutual respect and brotherhood between Czechs and Slovaks and the other nationalities of our republic. This also includes education to love of our native country, its nature and everything of value created in our country by generations of our ancestors.

Simon: In foreign relations it is primarily education to friendship and brotherhood with the people of the Soviet Union, the strengthening of our alliance with the first socialist country in the world and together with it to the creation of fraternal feelings to all nations of the socialist community to whom we are tied by common goals and interests i.e. by the building of socialism, the common struggle for peace in the world and ever more intensive economic and cultural cooperation. Finally, the task includes education to respect for and solidarity with the working class and workers the world over.

Kojzar: All the above tasks of education to internationalism and patriotism must be implemented in unity and by mutual agreement. Only by developing all aspects of this process can we achieve the hoped for results. And vice-versa--neglect or inadequate appreciation of any aspect of education--where right-wing revisionists succeeded in the period of the developing crisis to the detriment of the revolutionary movement--endangers the effectiveness and the results of educational ideological work.

Simon: It is known that proletarian internationalism, which originated at the time of the founding of the worker movement as the basis and indivisible part of proletarian ideology, is also the basic prerequisite for the effective implanting of feelings of socialist patriotism. Under current conditions special stress must be placed on educating working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism as a primary task of every communist party worthy of this designation. Because a positive attitude to this aspect of communist ideology is the absolutely fundamental and most persuasive indicator of sincere dedication to socialism and communism. Because cooperation, brotherhood, solidarity of workers and the working people of all countries and nations is the main and decisive

source of the strength of the revolutionary worker movement, and a source of successes of communist parties.

History teaches very convincingly that proletarians cannot fight exploiters and win if they are divided and do not fight together. In the contest with a united capitalist and imperialist world the front of workers of all countries and nations must be united if it expects to win. From the inception of its class hegemony, the bourgeoisie has been using and uses national and racial prejudice to destroy the unity of workers, divide the proletarians of various countries and nations to weaken the power of the revolutionary movement.

Hrzal: We can demonstrate this on our own experience. For example, in pre-Munich times the CSR bourgeoisie was pitting Czechs against Slovaks, Poles, Hungarians and vice-versa by spreading nationalism under the deceptive catchwords "nation," "homeland," etc. The world bourgeoisie--primarily fascist countries and especially German fascism--were turning countries against each other--with the aim, of course, of starting a war. This demonstrates clearly that nationalism is a tool of the bourgeoisie and one of the most dangerous and at the same time most effective forms of bourgeois ideology. To retreat to positions of bourgeois nationalism--as the right-wing revisionists and counterrevolutionaries have done in our country by deviously propagating the ideas of bourgeois nationalism, primarily in its most conspicuous form of anti-Sovietism--means to betray the interests of the revolutionary worker movement, socialism and communism, change gradually the basis of the socialist social system and restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia.

Kojzar: It is known that in the pre-war republic Czech capitalists made of Slovakia their agricultural appendix. Not only the Czech but also the Slovak bourgeoisie exploited the Slovak people. Following the victory of the working class in 1948 the nationality problem was consistently being solved and also grounded constitutionally by the creation of a federation. But the fact that the nationality question was resolved does not mean that all surviving manifestations and expressions of nationalism have disappeared from the consciousness and behavior of the people.

Simon: Of course, they have not disappeared. We still remember well from the 1968-69 crisis years in the CSSR that expressions of nationalism and of national separateness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of a socialist society. Nationalist prejudices can survive in the consciousness of the people for a very long time and are hard to eradicate, especially if they also receive support at home from class enemies in Western capitalist countries.

Hrzal: Therefore, the CPCZ Congress resolutions are based on the proposition that the deleterious remnants of bourgeois nationalism can be overcome successfully only by the consistent education of all citizens and especially of the youth in the spirit of the ideas of proletarian internationalism adapted to conditions of our country and our nations.

Simon: For example, in regard to the internal relations between our nations. After 1945 and especially following the Victorious February a new era of fraternal coexistence between Czechs and Slovaks began.

There is no exploitation, no oppression which would cause suspicion and inflame nationalist passions. Our nations are led by the CPCA, an enemy of all oppression and staunch defender of the ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

Hrzal: It must be added that from an exploited, oppressed and backward agricultural country Slovakia was, thanks to the assistance of the Czech working class, transformed into a country with an advanced industry, socialist agriculture, a high cultural level and standard of living. Slovakia is a prime example of the results of the Marxist-Leninist solution of the nationalities question which implements not only complete equality of nations but also supports effectively the levelling of differences existing between nations to bring the more backward nations up to the level of the more advanced ones in all areas of life.

In this way the problem of coexistence of the Czech and Slovak nations was resolved for good by the principled implementation of the internationalist approach. The question of coexistence, cooperation and true brotherhood of our nations was resolved justly and once and for all. Comradely relations are developing in the spirit of the most progressive traditions and are conducted on a new, higher level.

The CPCZ admonishes that the consolidation of fraternal relations of equality between our nations will not come about automatically and naturally. Education to internationalism and patriotism faces the very serious task of continuously developing fraternal relations between both nations, consolidating the unity and power of our country and at the same time waging a struggle against all surviving remnants of nationalism and chauvinism.

Kojzar: Part of education to proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism is also education to friendship and the development of fraternal relations with the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, and with the countries of the socialist community and proletarians and working people the world over.

Simon: Sixty years have just passed this year since the victorious socialist revolution in the Soviet Union, the first in human history. For the first time in history the proletariat deposed the bourgeoisie, assumed power and established a socialist state, the most democratic society in history. For this reason the building of socialism and communism in the USSR has and will have a tremendous international impact. Because the proletarian revolution in Hungary, Germany etc. was the immediate result of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The revolutionary and liberation movements received new impetus on all continents of the world.

The principles which the Soviet government proclaimed and began implementing--equality, self-determination of nations and the principle of peaceful coexistence--are lending new strength and a new perspective to all nations. And the success of industrialization, collectivization, the tremendous spread of education, culture, science and art were of great assistance to the proletariat the world over in its struggle against capitalism.

In World War II the Soviet Union defended itself and gradually destroyed the imperialist miscreation--German fascism--and liberated all nations which were under the fascist yoke. As a result of the glorious victory the authority of the Soviet Union in the entire world increased enormously.

Hrzal: In spite of the tremendous losses the Soviet Union emerged from World War II strengthened. The resolute moral and political unity of the Soviet people, the advanced socialist industry, socialist agriculture, as well as the development of schools, culture, science and art, all became the focus of interest, admiration and respect of the working people from other countries.

The USSR--the first and largest socialist state--is at the same time one of the world powers which threatens no one and is no menace to the freedom and independence of other nations. On the contrary, it fights for the liberation of all hiterto enslaved nations and is in the forefront of the movement for peace, friendship and international relations among nations.

Kojzar: It is known that the peace movement helps thwart the plans of the warmongers, among whom the aggressive American imperialists play the leading role. The Soviet Union is the decisive force behind and supporter of the movement for national liberation and the struggle against exploitation and for new friendly relations between nations. And this is undoubtedly one of the reasons why imperialist powers harbor such enmity against the Soviet Union and raise mistrust and hatred against it by spreading a propaganda of lies. But in vain--the authority of the Soviet Union keeps rising due to its principled internationalist policy.

Simon: In our country we are also building on the experience of past years. We are not relying on the automatic development of international fraternal relations with the Soviet Union. There are still members of the former exploiting classes in our country who harbor no feeling of respect and brotherhood to the Soviet Union, as was convincingly demonstrated in 1968.

Therefore, we cannot, even for a short time, relent our efforts to educate our people towards the strengthening of fraternal relations with the Soviet people.

Our cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union is a fundamental and decisive condition for the building of socialism in the CSSR and our national self-determination and independence. History proves that the

Soviet Union is the only reliable guarantor of our national self-determination and independence. The experience of recent decades, and of centuries, proves that whoever is against our alliance with and friendship for the Soviet Union betrays the interests of his nation and state and our sovereignty. This means that true patriots are those who respect the Soviet Union and strengthen our friendship, cooperation and alliance with it. This is the truth and reality of our life. This is the reason why education conducted in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism is so important and significant.

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PRAGUE JOURNAL ATTACKS EUROCOMMUNISM, SANTIAGO CARRILLO

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 36, 7 Sep 77 pp 1, 4, 5 AU

[Article by Zdenek Cermak: "Eurocommunism: The Trojan Horse of the Bourgeoisie"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] When the first economic crisis erupted in the middle of the 1820's, it could have seemed that this was a coincidental phenomenon in the capitalist economy. And the first actions of the exploited proletariat against the bourgeoisie could in the same way have appeared to have been something extraordinary, something disrupting the harmony of eternal capitalism, but the repetition of them and the constantly exacerbating course of them testified to the opposite.

In a profound analysis of the bourgeois society and of the preceding development, the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, proved that such phenomena are a manifestation of the conflicts of capitalism, and primarily of the conflict between the social nature of production and the private capitalist appropriation, which, to quote F. Engels, is "evidenced as the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."

Both the economic crisis and the class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are an objective fact in a society governed by capital and by private ownership. They cannot be overcome by any reform or partial improvement of capitalism. They can be overcome only by eliminating capitalism as a social system. /It is known that the role of the gravedigger of capitalism and of the main creative force of the new, socialist society was given by history to the proletariat. As soon as Marx and Engels realized this historic role of the proletariat, they devoted their entire energy to theoretically arming and organizing the workers class. That is how Marxism was born--the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party./

Anticommunism on the Scene

From the very moment the bourgeoisie grasped the revolutionary role of the proletariat, it began to generate enormous efforts to frustrate it. In

order to maintain its rule, this formerly progressive class discarded the ideals it had upheld in the fight against feudalism and became the brake hampering social progress and the bearer of anticommunism. /And thus anticommunism emerged almost simultaneously with Marxism. From the very beginning, and to this very day, anticommunism has been operating in two directions: against the scientific ideology of the proletariat and against the proletariat's revolutionary organization./

Marx and Engels most graphically characterized the purpose and aim of anti-communism in their Communist Party Manifesto: "A specter is haunting Europe--the specter of communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this specter--the pope and the tsar, Metternich and Guizot, the French radicals and German police spies."

The exacerbating conflicts of capitalism and the growing class struggle are forcing the bourgeoisie to seek newer and newer forms of anticommunism, forms which would at least hamper the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, even if it can no longer be stopped. The efforts of individuals, of whole staffs and scientific institutes, are primarily concentrated on disproving Marxism-Leninism. And when this proves to be hopeless, they at least endeavor to systematically reform and revise it and to foist upon the proletariat and the other working people all kinds of concoctions of bourgeois ideology. At the same time they strive to break up the revolutionary parties of the workers class and to replace them by reformist and pseudorevolutionary organizations; to disrupt the unity, organization and ability to act of the workers class, both within individual countries and on an international scale. In the revolutionary legacy of Marx and Engels, "Proletarians of all countries, unite," in the international unity and solidarity of the progressive forces of the world, the bourgeoisie sees mortal danger for its rule.

The Epochal Significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution

/The Great October Socialist Revolution has become the historic landmark in the fight between anticommunism and communism. It has proved the gigantic force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and confirmed in practice the correct nature of its conclusions on the historically transitory nature of capitalism and on its being inevitably replaced by socialism. The basic conflict of capitalism, the conflict between labor and capital, began to be reproduced on an international scale as the conflict between socialism and capitalism./

Capitalism no longer had the strength to drown the October Revolution in blood, as the Paris Commune had been drowned. It was forced to take into account the established reality. This, of course, does not mean that capitalism had become reconciled to it. Anticommunism was allocated the task of aggravating the fight against the revolutionary movement within its own, still-capitalist countries, and primarily against the communist parties, and simultaneously the task of developing by every means and

escalating the attacks against the Soviet Union. /However, the fight against the first country of socialism--whether conducted by the interventionist troops of 14 states soon after October, by the fascist armies in World War II, or by the "divisions" on the ideological front--has not fulfilled the hopes of the imperialist circles./

Quite the contrary. World War II contributed to palpably weakening the world system of capitalism. Additional countries dropped away from capitalism to take the road of building a classless society. Socialism became a world system. The crisis of the colonial rule of imperialism deteriorated to such an extent that it led to the disintegration of imperialism. /All this deepened the general crisis of capitalism. The correlation of forces between capitalism and socialism on a worldwide scale changed fundamentally in favor of socialism./

The New Tactics of Anticommunism

Imperialism is reacting to this situation with well-known means. It is stepping up the anticommunist operations against the workers class and the working people in its own countries, with the aim of breaking up the unity of the workers class and diverting it from revolutionary ideology and activity. In its eyes everything is good enough for this purpose: the spreading of slander, as well as open and hidden terror against the leaders of the proletariat, against the communist parties and progressive organizations and their members. /Imperialism is making use of more surreptitious and refined methods, too. It is devising all kinds of theories on the "changes" in contemporary capitalism, which are intended to camouflage its exploiting nature and convince the working people that capitalism has changed its substance and has become literally a model of virtue./

A profuse multitude of such theories has emerged: for instance, the theory of democratic capitalism, that of popular capitalism, as well as several other theories making a fetish of production forces and ignoring production relations, and also separating production from ownership. From this their authors deduce that under the conditions of contemporary imperialism it is, in fact, not the capitalist owners but the managers and technocrats that govern, and that capitalism is changing into some kind of new society. Another of these theories--the theory of convergence--even goes so far as to declare that socialism and capitalism will gradually coalesce.

These theories come from the workshops of professional ideologists, from the ranks of bourgeois philosophers, economists and sociologists, but also from the ranks of the theoreticians of socialist and social democratic parties and the ranks of renegades and apostates of the communist parties. It is these, in particular, that are especially dangerous for the revolutionary workers movement. No wonder the imperialists are holding a protective hand over them, regardless of whether these people live in the capitalist countries or as dissidents in the socialist countries.

/All of them are jointly concentrating on wrenching the socialist countries out of the socialist community and on disrupting their relationship with the Soviet Union, and particularly on debasing the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism and on breaking up the unity of the international communist movement and of democratic organizations. Simultaneously they are striving to erode the socialist countries from within, to disrupt the working people's unity and disintegrate the communist parties, isolating them from the masses so as to hamper their socialist development and create conditions for their return to capitalism./

Anticommunism is devoting particular attention to the national liberation movement. As in other spheres, it is striving to hamper the former colonial nations' fight for freedom and independence, or at least to keep these countries subjugated to itself through various forms of neocolonialism.

The Fight Against Anti-Sovietism Is a Fight for Socialism

Since the October Revolution anti-Sovietism has been the core of anti-communism. The anticommunists are well aware that the Soviet Union is a real dam, barring the way to imperialist plans since its very emergence. They know that the Soviet Union is the support of the world revolutionary forces, not only ideologically and morally, but also in the material and--last but not least--in the military sense, and that it is the greatest protector of peace.

/That is why it is the duty of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world to reject all slander against the Soviet Union, because today more than ever the fight against anti-Sovietism is the fight for socialism, the fight for the world proletarian revolution. It is an inseparable part of the class struggle in the world./ Its significance was stressed, for instance, by Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, in the speech he delivered on 21 April 1970 in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses. His words were: "The bourgeois-nationalist propaganda is characterized today by its emphatic anti-Soviet orientation, and that is why the fight against it and against all forms of anti-Sovietism is a component of the class fight in today's class-divided world, a component of the communist parties' consistent international policy."

The United States--the Headquarters of Reaction

As it was by Hitler and other fascist leaders in times past, anticommunism is being publicly proclaimed today even by the official representatives of capitalist states. Anticommunism is becoming the core of preelection speeches; it is used to explain away the exorbitant military budgets, and it is included in official declarations and communiques. On its basis military pacts and alliances are being concluded, aimed at enhancing "the holy alliance to exorcize the specter of communism."

If the Soviet Union is the main support of socialism and peace in the world, the United States of America is the headquarters of world anti-communism and reaction. Hundreds of research institutes and special university departments with thousands of highly qualified workers are working out the strategy and tactics of anticommunism and spreading them all over the world through their branches in other countries, through dissidents and particularly through the mass communications media.

/The United States, the strongest capitalist power, took over the role of the world gendarme of imperialism after World War II./ Its main weapon is hot and cold war, the intelligence service, diplomacy, injections of dollars and ideological subversion. /Today the U.S. policy is the greatest barrier against the peoples' social and national liberation fight, an obstacle to disarmament, to the consolidation of world peace and to the deepening of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems./

In evaluating J. Carter's preelection reflections on future U.S. foreign policy, the French paper LE MONDE on 25 January 1977 wrote that the United States "...is the greatest exporter of dictatorships today. In Latin America, where the U.S. influence is greater than anywhere else in the world, 80 percent of the population lives under dictatorial regimes. The same situation exists in the Middle East, in Southeast Asia and in Africa, where the countries most loyal to Washington are also dictatorships." The paper continued: "This incontrovertible phenomenon is unknown in the West. It is peculiar that very little was said about this on the occasion of the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence."

/The present U.S. president, J. Carter, has placed himself at the head of not only the American but also world anticommunism, contrary to his preelection promises and in the spirit of the infamous policy of H. Truman, J. F. Dulles, W. Churchill and their kind. He is almost programmatically unleashing the cold war against the socialist countries./ His appeal this May at the London session of top political representatives of states rallied in the NATO pact in favor of further feverish armament, NATO rearmament and the modernization of NATO's weapons in the course of the next 10 years, his attitude toward the production of the neutron bomb, as well as his incitement and support of dissidents in the socialist countries are convincing proof of this.

The main reason for the unprecedented sharpening of anticommunism in the last few years has been the unenviable situation in which imperialism--and particularly the United States--has found itself, as well as the growing successes of the socialist countries, and above all of the Soviet Union.

The sinking moral-political prestige of the United States in the world culminated in the Watergate affair and the military defeat in Vietnam. That is why we cannot but wonder, for instance, at the 200th anniversary

of U.S. independence--in which such hopes were placed, both at home and in the world, and to the preparation of which such great attention was devoted--ending in a complete fiasco.

/Other capitalist countries, too, are increasingly finding themselves in difficulties. The capitalist world is being tossed about by a grave economic crisis/ (and where are all those wonderful theories of the bourgeois, socialist and social democratic economists, which should have definitely cured the diseases of capitalism?), /a crisis accompanied by such phenomena as mass unemployment, the inflation process, the strike movement, the aggravation of the class struggle, the loss of life securities and prospects of the working people, and so forth./

In absolute contrast to this situation is the development taking place in the socialist countries. That is why the imperialists, longing for revenge for their political, economic and military defeats and for their growing troubles, are now developing unprecedented efforts to discredit the socialist system in the eyes of the working people.

/It is the height of hypocrisy when the representatives and the mass media of states in which human rights are being violated in an unparalleled way, where the ruthless oppression of people is an everyday matter, where millions of people have no jobs--and if they have, they are subjected to cruel exploitation--where racism abounds and fascism is being popularized, and so forth, when these representatives and their media shout about violations of human rights in the socialist countries and present the rule of the bourgeoisie as a model of democracy./

However, even that cannot surprise us. This, too, belongs to the register of contemporary anticommunism.

Whom Does Eurocommunism Serve?

The latest thing in Western ideology is so-called Eurocommunism.

It has been a very long time since some other theory from the workshop of anticommunism has become such a best seller in the bourgeois media as has this one. It is certainly interesting that this term, so popular today in the West, has no author. Nobody is claiming authorship here, at least not in public. One thing is nevertheless certain: nobody consistently proceeding from Marxism-Leninism thought of this name or dreamed up its contents. But, after all, the authorship is not important. The decisive thing is, as Comrade Vasil Bilak stressed in his speech at the Seventh Congress of the Czechoslovak Journalists Union on 17 June 1977, "...that its contents are insidious. We have here a conscious endeavor to divide the international communist movement according to geographical zones and various spheres, to foment all that splits our movement and the solidarity of the workers class."

/Eurocommunism, as interpreted in the West, completely fulfills the present aims of anticommunism: to break up the international communist movement from within, to disrupt the unity of the workers class and to keep it subjugated by the bourgeoisie./

Eurocommunism denies the leading role of the workers class and its vanguard--the Communist Party--in the socialist revolution; it rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat, stressing instead bourgeois parliamentarism and the pluralist political system. It makes a fetish of the national elements in building socialism and, contrary to the truth, it attacks Marxism-Leninism for its alleged lack of respect for the peculiarities of individual countries when defining strategy and tactics in the socialist revolution. It counterposes as incompatible the national and international interests of the workers class, and it rejects proletarian internationalism with the demagogic reasoning that it sets up an international "communist center" which threatens the independence and sovereignty of individual communist parties.

/The refined and dangerous nature of Eurocommunism lies primarily in the fact that--contrary to other anticommunist theories--it does not oppose socialism verbally but attacks, under Marxist slogans, the real socialism that has been built in the USSR and a number of other countries./ It is creating the illusion of some kind of "democratic" so-called Eurocommunist model of socialism. /However, in reality the authors of this theory and those who are preaching it are not concerned with socialism. They want to deceive the workers class and the working people in the capitalist countries and to implant in them distrust in scientific socialism and in the countries of real socialism with the aim of diverting them from the socialist revolution./

That is also why the Marxist-Leninists are uncompromisingly rejecting Eurocommunism. It is being condemned not only by the communist parties under whose leadership socialism has already become a reality, but also by representatives of the communist and revolutionary workers parties of capitalist and developing countries. We could cite criticism of Eurocommunism and of those propagating and defending it, or even tolerating it in an opportunistic way, from the pens of Communist Party representatives of Belgium, Luxembourg, the FRG, Denmark, Sweden, the United States, India and many others.

/And who is praising it? Primarily the bourgeois communications media./

Why Do They Applaud Santiago Carrillo?

The fact that Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, not only proclaims full allegiance to Eurocommunism but also publicizes it in every way, working it out theoretically, has considerably contributed to the recent "popularity" of Eurocommunism. As attested by numerous newspaper articles, television statements and even books, Carrillo

is most active in the present ideological fight. /Deplorably, he is active on the other side of the barricades--and not on the side where all those who are concerned with the further victories and successes of socialism are fighting. This appearance, the intensity of which has recently increased in an unprecedented way, fit into the anticommunist propaganda of imperialism like the wheels mesh in the mechanism of a clock. It is no wonder, therefore, that he even has the bourgeois communications media at his disposal and that the anticommunists are enthusiastically applauding him./

It is not without interest that as long ago as the 1976 Berlin conference of communist and workers parties of Europe, S. Carrillo declared that Eurocommunism does not exist. However, in his book "Eurocommunism and the State," published in April 1977, he stated: "The reader may perhaps be surprised how often I will use the term 'Eurocommunism' in the following pages. This is a most fashionable term which, although not coined by the communists and although its scientific value is dubious, nevertheless has a certain significance for public opinion."

In the spirit of the Eurocommunist theory, S. Carrillo attacks the Marxist-Leninist concept and significance of the unity of the countries of the socialist community, the unity of the international communist movement; he sets against each other the communist parties of the socialist countries and of the countries still ruled by capitalism. He calls for a fight for independence, autonomy and equal rights of the communist parties, he criticizes the nonexistent "directing center" of the international communist movement, and so forth. At the same time he must be sufficiently well acquainted with the fact that the founders of scientific socialism and communism always stressed these basic principles of the communist movement in particular, and they were again recalled by the Berlin conference of Europe's communist and workers parties--which S. Carrillo also attended--when it declared in its concluding document that its participants "will develop their internationalist, comradely, voluntary cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, while strictly adhering to the equal rights and sovereign independence of each party, to noninterference in internal affairs, and to respect for the free choice of different paths in the fight for progressive social changes and for socialism." /Thus Santiago Carrillo is trying with a great hullabaloo to "break down" doors that were opened a long time ago./

Simultaneously he also glorifies bourgeois democracy and its parliamentarism, which, according to him, is to become the basic means of reorganizing the capitalist state and an instrument of building "democratic socialism."

/Deplorably, he has obviously learned very little from the tragic history of his own country before World War II, and he has rapidly forgotten the quite recent Chilean tragedy./

And Again Anti-Sovietism

Santiago Carrillo directs the fire of his criticism mainly against the CPSU. This is both peculiar and surprising--if we consider that only recently he was publicly underscoring the Soviet Union's successes, welcoming the growth of its authority in the world, expressing appreciation of its endeavors for the maintenance of world peace and for the fight for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, as well as appreciation of the assistance the Soviet Union is granting to peoples fighting against imperialism and for national independence, of its contribution to the development of the world revolutionary movement. In reality this "somersault" of his is merely the culmination of the opinions he is asserting. In fact, history has proved that everyone who abandons the Marxist-Leninist doctrine--whatever his subjective intentions--logically ends up on the platform of anti-Sovietism. Kautsky, Trotskiy, Garaudy, Fischer, Smrkovsky, Kriegl and the entire pleiad of others are proof of this. That is why it is not surprising that Santiago Carrillo is not merely criticizing but directly insulting the CPSU, the Soviet system and the Soviet people. According to him, the Soviet Union is a country of nonfreedom, a country where there is no capitalism but which is nevertheless ruled by a narrow strata of party bureaucracy, a country where basic human rights are not being observed.

/What a ridiculous claim about the country which was the first to eliminate man's exploitation by man; to insure the working people's right to work, education and medical care; to introduce equal rights for men and women; to create objective conditions for the working people's effective participation in the administration and management of both the state and the economy; to solve the nationality question according to the principle of the equal rights of all nations and nationalities. How incongruous to accuse the Soviet Union of having a political system lacking democracy: surely the USSR was the first in mankind's history to reach the stage of all-peoples state, and surely it is now developing democracy for the benefit of the working people on these foundations./ The all-union discussion on the USSR's draft constitution that is now taking place is an example of the mass basis on which the people are participating in decisions on the basic questions of the state under the conditions of Soviet democracy. In the first 6 months after the draft was published, a total of 650,000 meetings had been held in the USSR, attended by more than 57 million citizens; and the constitutional commission had received almost 70,000 letters appraising the draft constitution and making suggestions on it.

Can Santiago Carrillo, or anybody else for that matter, point to some other, more democratic state in the world than the Soviet Union?

The insults directed at the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and its working people affect us in Czechoslovakia, too. The Soviet Union and

its people displayed enormous heroism and made considerable sacrifices in the Civil War, in the years of building socialism, and, particularly, in the years of the fight against the enemy of all mankind--against fascism--during World War II. Due to this immeasurable effort and fight of the USSR, due to the CPSU's experience, the creation of objective and subjective conditions for starting on the road toward socialism and for victoriously concluding it were accelerated in our country, too.

Birds of a Feather...

/In his criticism and insults, Santiago Carrillo does not bypass Czechoslovakia, either. In fact, our path toward socialism and its successful construction, despite the fact that our republic was an industrially developed country, are gravely disrupting his concept of building democratic socialism, / his "revolutionary model in developed capitalist states," as he himself says in the subhead of his book "Eurocommunism and the State." And so he not only deprecates all that we have achieved and insults those who shared in the achieved successes, but simultaneously extols the representatives of the counterrevolutionary forces of 1968-69, who caused immense damage to our party and society. A. Dubcek, who has become the symbol of rightwing opportunist and antisocialist forces, stands close to S. Carrillo's Eurocommunist concept of socialism. Yes, the concept of socialism with a "human face," under which slogan the counterrevolution in our country was preparing a return to capitalism, was in fact a Dubcek variation of Carrillo's "democratic socialism."

/If Carrillo understands democracy under socialism as a "parliamentary game"/ (as he likes to say), /that is his own affair, but if he wants to foist this "game" on us, then we clearly say that we are not small children to play with in this way. Generations of our fathers waged hard class battles against the exploiters for social liberation. A lot of workers' blood was shed before we won the fight for the socialist system. That is why in 1968-69 we could not permit, that is why we shall never permit, this blood to be shed again. Our allies in the fraternal countries also understood this in the same way. The Hungarian events of 1956 were a telling example of what the counterrevolution is capable of. And if S. Carrillo perhaps regards the raging of the counterrevolution as a manifestation of socialist democracy, we are of a completely different opinion. Such "democracy" we quite unambiguously reject! /

He Who Dissociates Himself From the USSR Harms Both Socialism and the Communist Parties of the West

Santiago Carrillo likes to emphasize the principle of noninterference in the affairs of other parties and countries. However, surprisingly this does not prevent him from interfering in the affairs of other parties and countries himself, from dropping advice right and left and from criticizing those who do not want to accept his non-Marxist and non-Leninist opinions on the socialist revolution. The criticism of the Soviet Union,

Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries and of the policy of their communist parties, this criticism is a concrete example of Carrillo's "principled attitude" in the understanding of relations among the communist parties.

/In refuting and criticizing Santiago Carrillo's views we are not criticizing the Spanish Communist Party. This party is responsible for its activity first and foremost to its members, the workers class and the Spanish working people./

But Santiago Carrillo should earnestly reflect on what he enunciates, whom he benefits with his views and whom he harms, who praises him and who applauds him. /He should reflect on the words of the chairman of the Luxembourg Communist Party, who on 25 August 1977 stated in an interview with CTK: "When now somebody dissociates himself from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and, in addition, commits himself to anticommunist propaganda, he thus harms not only socialism but also all the communist parties of the West."/

The Universality of Marxism-Leninism

In their practice the communist parties--this revolutionary vanguard of the workers class--are guided by Marxism-Leninism. The scientific doctrine of the workers class unites the activity of all communist and revolutionary workers parties and their struggle at the head of the working people for the defeat of capitalism and the victory of socialism and communism. It unites them on the basic problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics essential for achieving these historical aims. All this is also reflected in their programs.

It is understandable that the programs of the individual communist parties, their strategy and tactics, reflect the specific conditions of one or another country, the factors of time and space, the class structure, the maturity of the workers class and of its allies, the overall revolutionary climate in these countries and in the world, and, last but not least, the ideological and organizational preparedness of the Communist Party itself and its revolutionary capability of action.

/Even though now, as in the past, the capitalist system in individual countries is distinguished by various peculiarities and differences, in essence it is always a bourgeois government. More than 100 years ago the founders of Marxism precisely determined this essence of capitalism, its basic characteristics and development trends, just as V. I. Lenin, in analyzing the monopolistic stage of capitalism, proved that, despite all the changes capitalist society has undergone during its development, its essence and fundamental determinant characteristics remain unchanged. And even today, in assessing the development of the remaining capitalist countries, we see for ourselves the correctness of these conclusions./

It also follows logically from this that the preparation of the socialist revolution and its course--while fully respecting the specific features of the individual countries--must be distinguished by general, universal characteristics. This, too, was foreseen by the founders of Marxism-Leninism (and the past course of socialist revolutions in one-third of the world has fully borne out that what they foresaw was correct).

It is obvious that in connection with the development of the objective and subjective conditions for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries the specific characteristics of their revolutionary transformation will increase. Their revolutions will be different from the Czechoslovak revolution or from that in Poland or Hungary, just as these revolutions were different from the Great October Socialist Revolution 60 years ago.

It is not easy to analyze correctly the situation in every country from the viewpoint of the socialist revolution and to set forth correct tactics for its victory. The basic strategic objective for which individual communist parties and the entire international communist movement are striving is identical, however: the establishment of the rule of the workers class, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the building of a classless socialist and communist society. To achieve this aim every party must solve--even under different historical conditions--the same fundamental, most general tasks the Bolshevik Party had to solve 60 years ago and our party and the parties of the other countries of the socialist community had to solve after 1945.

/Because there is only one socialism--just like capitalism--and its victory, as history has shown, can only be achieved by a revolutionary upheaval, by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and its dictatorship, the roads to achieving this aim can be and legitimately will be different. It is precisely in this respect that the wisdom and skill of each communist party and of its leadership become evident: how it succeeds in a creative manner in applying the general laws of the socialist revolution and building the socialist society, which the Marxist-Leninist doctrine reveals and which it is working out, to the specific conditions of its own country./

Therefore, we appreciate with sincere admiration the revolutionary mastery of V. I. Lenin and of his fellow strugglers, who 60 years ago led the Russian proletariat precisely on this basis to victory over the bourgeoisie and thus ushered in the era of the world proletarian revolution.

The fact that socialist revolutions--under communist party leadership and on the basis of a creative application of Marxism-Leninism--have been victorious in the course of the past 60 years in several other countries which were at various levels of economic development and were different in terms of their class structure and historical and cultural development reaffirms not only the scientific nature of this doctrine but also its universal character.

/The 60 years that have elapsed since Great October are proof of the victorious road of socialism in the Soviet Union and in many other countries. On that road socialism has been forced more than once to fight an ideological battle with anticommunism. There have been innumerable such battles, and they always ended in the crushing defeat of those who tried to deny the scientific doctrine of the workers class or to wreck or reform it. It will not be otherwise with the "Trojan horse" which the bourgeoisie is today trying to smuggle into the Marxist-Leninist fortress--Eurocommunism./

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GRASSROOTS SUPPORT FOR CHARTER 77 REPORTED INCREASING

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 36, 29 Aug 77 pp 122-125

[Article: "The Pursuers and the Prey"]

[Text] The party campaign against the signatories of Charter 77 has collapsed: more and more citizens and also officials and police, regard the advocates of civil rights as a political force.

The excavation workers who are digging shafts for the new subway in the inner city of Prague had to attend a workshop meeting at the end of their shift. Attendance of each and everyone was checked off on the payroll records.

The only agenda: The dismissal of a fellow worker ordered by the construction combine, who, industrious though he was, allegedly had violated "the principle of the leading role of the party" and had "insulted leading statesmen."

The fellow worker is present in the hall. During the Dubcek period in 1968, he had been a high official in the reform party. After the Russian occupation, he was therefore fired from his position, and for the past few months has been working as an auxiliary worker with excavators. He is asked to state his position concerning the charges against him, because -- as one worker put it -- "none of us, including the director, knows exactly what this is all about."

Thus the former comrade gets the opportunity for the first time to publicly tell in his own words before a few hundred workers, the real reason why he is to lose his job again. He is one of the signatories -- of which there are now more than 700 -- of the civil rights document Charter 77.

Following his statements, only two party members ask to be heard. They say that, while they consider the grounds for dismissal insufficient, their fellow workers should show understanding, for, after all, they had families and many children. In the final vote, the majority objects to the firing. The management abides by the vote, and the signatory of the charter is allowed to continue to excavate in Prague.

There are also more and more cases in other enterprises in which the management and workers are resisting the persecution of Charter supporters. Even among police, at questionings and during house searches, one hears increasingly words of caution "because perhaps things will take a different turn once more."

Seven months ago, the party had tried to counter the publication of the first Charter texts in the West with a trumped up wave of indignation among the working people. The party campaign has failed. Neither police chicanery nor anonymous threats of murder ("I'll bash your head in, you are on my list -- a patriot") have intimidated the civil rights advocates, and fewer and fewer citizens of the CSSR are permitting repressive measures by party and police to dictate their opinion about civil rights.

The party, which, as recently as January, had television and the party press recite calumnies against the chartists ("spies and agents") as well as resolutions of loyalty for the party leadership by work collectives, can no longer dare mobilize the ire of the people. Why? Indignant at the meager supply of consumer goods this summer and the renewed price increases effective in July, the Czechs and Slovaks could seek the guilty ones among those who are actually responsible for the situation.

What is making the party leadership jittery in addition is the changed tactics of the civil rights defenders, who are being talked about among the public as a result of planned actions and, in the process, are constantly gaining new supporters.

The civil rights advocates, for example, bought about 70 tickets for a theater performance in Prague in which the actor Petr Oliva was playing. Oliva is one of the few artists in the Czechoslovak capital who are loyal to the regime. When he came on stage, 70 people in the audience demonstratively left the theater, amid the applause of the rest of the audience.

When a prominent Charter signatory was being questioned at the police premises in Bartolomejska Street in Prague, more than a hundred pedestrians gathered in front of the building, carefully avoiding the forming of groups -- which is prohibited. The police found no legal way to break up the gathering.

In the pedestrian passage underneath Wenceslav Square in Prague, which is difficult to control, a group of young people let balloons rise to the low ceiling to which leaflets with Charter texts were attached.

So far, the chartists in nine documents have made basic statements about the disturbed relationship between the state party and the citizens in the CSSR. Now the Charter signatories, similarly as the Polish civil rights committee, have started to gather throughout the country cases of breaches of rights and violations of laws and the constitution by authorities. The documentation-- three texts so far -- is sent regularly to party chief Husak in order that "he cannot say that he did not know anything about it" (as one chartist put it).

There have been some initial successes in the fight against arbitrary actions by the party and the authorities. The former student leader Jiri Mueller, who only last December was released from 4 years' arrest, accused newspapers and radio of having spread, against their better knowledge, libelous reports that he had been imprisoned because of attempted murder. The journal AHOJ published a correction and reimbursed Mueller's legal costs. The same charges against the party paper RUDE PRAVO and the state radio were rejected by a lower and an appeals court.

When one of the worst instigators against the civil rights defenders, Josef Skala, the director of the Italian broadcasts of Prague radio, leveled charges from the show trials of the 1950's against the reform politician Frantisek Kriegel, also one of the Charter signatories, and on top of it pointed out his Jewish descent, Kriegel wrote to Husak.

The result: Skala, and along with him 17 other employees of Prague radio, were fired, and the party organ, RUDE PRAVO, excused the error saying: "In a country in which there is freedom of the press, not every commentary in the press, over the radio or on television reflects the attitude of the party or of the state organs."

The disciplined Skala comrades as well as the civil rights advocates are still without a job and have few prospects of employment. One of the unemployed civil rightists told DER SPIEGEL: "It is really funny when we meet on a weekday as people who have nothing better to do than take a walk -- the pursuers and the prey, both without a job."

Bohumil Molnar, until June deputy minister of the interior and major general of the state security service and the top witchhunter, received a punitive transfer to the economic administration of the Ministry of Interior because of the ineffective measures against the Charter supporters.

This security man, who began his intelligence career in 1948 as a chauffeur, took part in the abduction of the Czech Social Democrat Lausman from Salzburg and received a gun with an engraved inscription from the Soviet KGB for his help in smashing the Hungarian popular revolt in 1956, has also been accused of inadequate preparation of the trials against three accused Charter signatories.

The proceedings against the author Vaclav Havel (who was relieved from acting as the Charter spokesman at his own request) and cosignatories Lederer and Pavlicek, have been postponed twice despite pretrial investigations extending over several months, because there is still no charge justifying a trial.

The main person in charge, party chief Husak, has shown remarkable reserve in the dispute with the civil rights advocates. His brief remark before the delegates of the Trade Union Congress in May sounded rather like an excuse: "Any demand for an improvement of socialism pursues the aim of undermining socialism and, as in 1968, priming it for upheaval."

DEVELOPMENT OF DISSIDENCE IN GDR REVIEWED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 26 Aug 77 p 3

[Article by Dr Guenter Zehm, deputy chief editor of DIE WELT: "They Dared Resist the SED Regime--Even in the 'GDR'S' Top Party Echelon There Has Been Repeated Opposition Against the Ruling Course Ever Since 1949." For related information see JPRS 69782, 13 September 1977, No 1445 of this series, pp 14-34]

[Text] Whether with the imprisonment of the SED functionary and regime critic Rudolf Bahro a new chapter in the history of political opposition in the "GDR" has begun, only the future can tell. So far, it seems rather to have the appearance of being, in Bahro's case, a matter of a typical lone wolf. In the past, opposition in the "GDR" has always come from three sharply separate directions: either from below, from out of the people, or from the literary and artistic intelligentsia, or from the party apparatus itself. His professed communism, which only wishes to go about treating the symptoms of disease, at present still separates Bahro from the people, his lack of intellectual brilliance separates him from the intelligentsia, and his absence of prominence within the party apparatus separates him from this apparatus.

It is uncertain whether more important forces in the party and economic establishment of the "GDR" stand behind the publicized actions of the lone fighter from Berlin-Weissensee. For over 10 years--that is, since the spectacular suicide of the then Central Committee secretary and planning commission chairman, Erich Apel--there has not been any articulated opposition in the top ranks of the SED against the course taken by the party. On the other hand, in earlier years eruptive outbreaks of resistance to the policies of Ulbricht had occurred again and again even in the highest leadership bodies.

This in fact began soon after the founding of the "GDR," when the former SPD functionaries whose commands were taken over through the compulsory fusion of the KDP and the SPD had been imprisoned and the SED had been transformed into a "party of a new type," based on the Soviet model. At that time, at the behest of Moscow, Ulbricht scotched the theory of the "special German way to socialism." Anton Ackermann, the most prominent advocate of this theory, was removed.

Punishment for Exile in West

At the same time, the "group" of Merker, Bauer, Goldhammer, Kreikemeyer, and Lex Ende was "wiped out." Things went worse for its exponents than for Ackermann, who in due course merely found himself again at a lower-level post: Merker and others disappeared behind prison walls, many never to be seen again. It was not at all a matter here of true opposition elements. The members of this "group" were instead imprisoned and put to death because they were Jews, because they had been in exile in the West, and because the apparatus, after the Rajk trial in Hungary and the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia, simply needed its sacrifices in Germany as well.

The wiping out of the "Zaisser-Herrnstadt group" following the death of Stalin was less irrational. To be sure, the true background details of this affair are to this day still not clear. It is said that Zaisser and Herrnstadt had been the German confidants of Beria, and therefore necessarily had to fall after his execution. Another version, amending the Beria version, has it that Zaiser and Herrnstadt had chosen to take serious warning from the 17 June 1953 events and had even contemplated open all-German elections, whereas the Ulbricht group was just at that time beginning its antinational course of demarcation.

Lying more in the light of history is the elimination of the "Schirdewan group" in the year 1958. Schirdewan, this much seems certain today, was the spokesman in the Politburo of a national communist movement which aimed at a certain democratization and which wanted to cultivate a feeling of solidarity among the Germans. Schirdewan, during the student unrests of 1956/57, had occasionally commented in a guardedly favorable manner on "the idealism of the young people," and he had also had relations with the "Harich/Zoeger group," which just at that time disappeared behind prison walls. The great damnatory speech against him was made in 1958 before the Central Committee of the SED by Erich Honecker, who thereby conclusively consolidated his role as the heir apparent to Ulbricht.

An especially tragic chapter in this inner-party opposition is embodied by the economist Erich Apel, a technician of the old school, who had risen at the beginning of the 1960's, in the days of Ulbricht's "new economic policy (NOeSPL) [New Economic Planning and Managing System], to the position of head of the planning commission. Apel had developed, through studying the works of the nonconformist "GDR" economist Fritz Behrens, into the advocate of a "socialist market economy." Elements such as supply and demand, profit, and cost-defraying prices finally became respectable under his regime. The first economic successes were even already appearing--and then the anathema of Moscow fully struck the planning commissioner. The Soviets took it amiss of him for cultivating trade relations with the West in order to counter the

Russian plundering of its satellites. Apel shot himself in December 1965. Likewise walking the plank was the economic secretary of the Central Committee, Ziller.

Since that time, as has already been mentioned, no noteworthy inner-party opposition from East Berlin has later transpired. After Honecker's coming into power, even the last traces of a free-market NOeSPL orientation, a la Fritz Behrens, were again eradicated: Small handicrafts operations were nationalized, privileges for the technical-economic intelligentsia were done away with, planning games--which amounted to organizing socialist production according to the laws of a cybernetic system--were laid aside. Moreover, Honecker forced through the antinational, divisive features of SED policy. The existence of a single German nation was now officially denied by the party (something which had never taken place under Ulbricht), and the terminological differentiating of East Germany from West Germany reached hysterical heights.

Rising Temperatures

But this very excess pressure of party propaganda generates a back-pressure, and to that extent a symptomatic importance might by all means be ascribable to the behavior of Bahro. Also, temperatures are certainly rising in the two other "fronts" of potential opposition, among the common people and with the literary-artistic intelligentsia. The transfer, or rather the deportation, of artists and writers to the FRG, the actions of the philosopher Robert Havemann, the growing cynicism with which the ideologists of Marxism-Leninism confront their own theses, the rampant intellectual indifference--all these are unmistakable signs of the fact that the SED has lost its base with the literary-artistic intelligentsia and now has to be prepared for increasingly open attacks from this direction in the future.

To be sure, the party is taking more seriously the storm warnings which are being signaled to it directly by the lower classes, "from the ground up." In the factories and neighborhood units, dissatisfaction is growing in the same measure as the general economic situation is darkening. Stimulated by human rights movements in eastern neighbor countries, strengthened by the results of the Helsinki conference, a movement is also developing in the "GDR" for the granting of human and civil rights. Lending their names to this are Karl-Heinz Nitschke and Oskar Bruesewitz: Clergyman Oskar Bruesewitz, whose self-inflicted death by fire was a powerful protest against the suppressing of freedom of religion, and Dr Karl-Heinz Nitschke, who was imprisoned after he had made himself into the spokesman of a neighborhood unit in Riesa on behalf of unrestricted travel to the FRG.

EAST GERMANY

RECENT ESCAPEES INTERVIEWED ON RESISTANCE IN GDR

Bonn DIE WELT in German 26 Aug 77 p 3

[Interview with Gunhild Bohm, editor of the POLITISCHE STUDIEN]

[Text] Following the opposition which has been seen in the "GDR," Gunhild Bohm, editor of the POLITISCHE STUDIEN, which is published by the Hans-Seidel Foundation, interviewed young persons who have come to the FRG recently as escapees, as former political prisoners from "GDR" prisons, or else by means of a hard-won travel permit. Her interviewees were the feuilleton editor Peter Fischer from Halle, the economist Dieter Foetisch from East Berlin, the writer Siegmur Faust from Heidenau near Dresden, and the documentalist Angelika Schwarz from East Berlin.

Question: After the building of the wall through Berlin on 13 August 1961, why was there no sensational opposition in the 1960's and 1970's, until a short time ago, against this totalitarian country, as there was in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union?

Fischer: The fact that opposition in the GDR is only now again being openly expressed has several causes, among them those which are connected with the peculiarity of an Eastern Bloc country on German soil. In all communist countries, at least a portion of the educated classes has been exterminated, but in the Soviet Zone of Occupation/GDR the blood-letting was especially massive. In no other country could the middle classes, or even any nonconformist, slip away into a free part of their own country. With millions of escapees, not only a good portion of those with intelligence and strength of character, but also a great deal of general human and historical-political knowledge has disappeared from the GDR.

Foetisch: One must not overlook the fact that accommodation to the demands and constraints of the system in the GDR was and is sweetened

by a standard of living which, since the building of the wall, has been considerably higher than in other Eastern Bloc countries.

Faust: Besides, you must not forget that the State Security Service (STASI) in the GDR has always, with well-known German thoroughness, functioned better than in the neighboring countries. Right into the middle of the 1960's, the STASI took action whenever, for example, only two people conversed together about one of the philosophers condemned by the SED, such as the Pole Leszek Kolakowski. The STASI has simply devised the most refined, tightest system of control over all citizens.

Schwarz: Anyone who at any time, in any way, once becomes conspicuous is put on file. If a person has betrayed himself through a rash statement, he is immediately in danger of being socially isolated. The STASI understands quite well how to exert psychological terrorism on your closest associates, so that they draw away from you. The pressure of the system on the one hand and the longing most persons have for stability on the other hand simply lead to the situation that one clings to the traditional, mostly petit-bourgeois norms in private, in his living habits.

Question: Since the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] in Helsinki on 1 August 1975, there has been a civil rights movement in the GDR as well, to the surprise of the West and the East. Some 200,000 citizens in the GDR have by now openly rejected the SED state, by making applications for emigration to the FRG. What do you make of this opposition?

Foetisch: As long as the West shows interest in the realization of human rights in the socialist countries as well, just so long will citizens of the GDR have the courage to openly demand some basic rights.

Faust: It is no surprise to me. When the West was occupying itself with the comfortable illusion that things were going better and better for the people in the GDR, that they had adapted themselves, and that one did not need to worry about them any longer, at the same time the compulsory adaptation of broad classes to the system nevertheless was by no means any endorsement of the situation. The number of actual yes-men was always small.

Question: Have the civil rights movements in the Soviet Union and in Poland worked in a stimulating way within the GDR?

Faust: The dissidents in the Soviet Union have made a tremendous impression. And the stealthy reading of one Solzhenitsyn novel-- "Cancer Ward"--was for me and my friends a haunting experience.

Foetisch: I have traveled as often as possible to Poland, where a significant part of the unofficial, highly interesting intellectual life of East Europe goes on. Perhaps the people in the GDR have learned from the Poles: If many people stand upon their rights and do not put up with everything from the regime, then they become a political force to be taken in earnest, because the STASI cannot lock up everyone.

Question: More and more travel applicants are receiving interdictions against practicing their profession or are even being sentenced to a number of years in prison because of "subversive agitation." Will the reprisals of the regime once again drive the opposition back into silence?

Faust: That is by no means possible. The system itself is generating simply too much opposition for that. Even if a person at one time believes in the SED, as I did as a working-class child from the sticks, he nevertheless soon runs up against the contradiction between theory and practice in the GDR.

Foetisch: Indeed, everyone also sees that under the banner of equality, in socialism the material opportunities do not conform to the work performance, but to the zeal with which one shows his loyalty to the regime--in other words: to one's position in the party and national apparatus. You can imagine how corruption blooms in this fine socialism, especially since the GDR economy, as an economy of scarcity, encourages corruption.

Question: Against its constant treatment of people as minors and dependent citizens--against that does there not arise a quite instinctive opposition?

Fischer: Such a situation arises, for example, if one should be compelled to make an avowal which goes against his most important basic values. By the way, it is not without reason that teachers form the largest "contingent of patients" in the psychiatric institutions. Notwithstanding that the school children are as upstanding as matches. Likewise, functionaries very quickly get into a fix personally, because their work is determined by the insoluble contradiction of economy and policy.

Question: Since the building of the wall, the regime has already made 40,000 GDR citizens into political prisoners. Who are these people?

Fischer: Many of them simply lost control over themselves once and vented their rage at the wrong time, before the wrong people. Many were also so sick of the situation that they attempted to escape and failed. Only a minority has gone quite deliberately into opposition to those at the top. For political reasons, these have often subsequently dropped out as students or artists or have been degraded from other occupations to part-time workers and have been socially isolated. In

such cases, the family has also not seldom been broken apart by then, since the STASI takes action against resistance movements in accordance with the only too-familiar principle of collective responsibility. If the pressure of suffering is very great, if one has only very little to lose any more, then it is no longer so difficult to overcome one's anxiety. Then one renders powerless for that person himself the entire mechanism of fear on which the country and the power of the State Security Service are built.

Question: The revolt on 17 June 1953 was essentially a workers' protest. How is the mood today among the workers?

Faust: I have worked in agriculture--as an unskilled worker, so to speak--and also in factories, and I have found the mood to be bad everywhere. The workers and farmers are among the most critical. They find themselves--of all places under socialism--underprivileged. Since they have the least to lose, they are the ones who complain the most fearlessly.

12114

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SITUATION OF FIVE DISSIDENTS REVIEWED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 29 Aug 77 p 3

["DW. Berlin" report: "When Their Criticism Grew Too Loud, the Dissidents Had to Go to Jail"]

[Text] The fate of the released dissidents is typical of the treatment of spokesmen of the civil rights movement in the "GDR." All five were imprisoned when their criticism of the situation with respect to the authorities grew far too loud. Why they have been deported just at this time has remained as yet without official explanation.

Karl-Heinz Nitschke: This doctor from Riesa had been thinking about escaping as early as in 1960. "However, he abandoned again his intended treason," it was said later in a judgment of the Halle bezirk court in an appellate case against a verdict of the Quedlinburg kreis court, by which he had been sentenced in 1965 to 2 years in prison because of "making preparations for a border escape." Nitschke is said to have intended to set off with his wife and daughter on the sea route by way of Denmark to the FRG. He had already bought a collapsible boat and had procured an outboard motor from the West, but the flight was twice postponed because of unfavorable weather conditions.

In 1975, during a Romanian vacation, he was arrested in broad daylight because he was carrying with him, 35 kilometers from the border, a Yugoslavian map. Together with his family, he is immediately brought back to the "GDR," where he is nevertheless again allowed to leave prison after only a few days. In the period of time following this, he applies a total of 18 times to be allowed to move to his sister's home in the FRG. But all the petitions are denied, on the grounds that according to prevailing international law no family relations subsist between brothers and sisters, that the Charter of the United Nations obligates each citizen to make an active contribution to his nation, and that an isolated resorting to individual paragraphs was unallowable.

But Nitschke does not intend to give in to the obstinate attitude of the authorities. In Riesa, he assembles bit by bit people of like mind around him, who like him no longer make any secret of the fact that they wish to fight for freedom. He composes a petition in which he unequivocally refers to the appropriate provisions of the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] Final Act of Helsinki. Over 100 fellow citizens sign the paper, which is finally slipped to media in the West. On 1 September, officials of the Ministry for State Security are at Nitschke's door with a warrant of arrest.

Hellmuth Nitsche: Because of critical statements he made about the SED regime; in 1970 this Germanic scholar loses his professor's chair at the East Berlin Humboldt University and is demoted to technical school teacher. He is not allowed to bear the title of professor any more. In August 1976, he and his wife lose their jobs and since then have no longer had a regular income. A number of petitions for travel to the FRG have been denied.

In his desperation, former party member Nitsche turns to the president of the United States, composing on 18 typed pages a kind of political testament in which he warns the West about illusions concerning communist protestations of peace. Under the title "Helsinki--a Disappointed Hope," it says among other things: "The number of petitions for release from GDR citizenship, referring to the Constitution, the UN Charter, the Declaration on Human Rights, and last but not least to the Final Act of Helsinki, is estimated at over 200,000. The government of the GDR cannot cope with this flood of petitions." Therefore it is reacting with "summary dismissals, with trials, and with other reprisals." It goes on to say that only a minute portion of the petitions are being approved. "The overwhelming majority of the petitioners are being deprived of their occupational basis for a livelihood, and the attempt is being made to starve them out--that is, to compel them in practice to engage in unskilled work activity for the communist regime."

In his letter, this internationally known philologist is not lacking in articulate criticism. He calls the CSCE obligations a mere lip-service, and he argues: "How could it be otherwise accounted for that a nation such as the GDR has not once since Helsinki dreamed of lifting the murderous order to shoot along the western borders, that despite its almost daily repeated protestations that it is in favor of protecting democratic basic rights, it has at the same time systematically equipped and further extended the border fortifications with ever more developed alarm devices and death-dealing equipment?" Nitsche and his wife were arrested on 6 April 1977.

From Songwriter to Transport Worker

Juergen Fuchs: Born in 1950 in Reichenbach im Vogtland, he became known as the author of the "memorial protocols" issued at Rowohlt. Fuchs, who comes from humble origins, studied social psychology in Jena from 1971 to 1975 and made appearances in public and semi-public readings with his texts, which have remained unprinted in the "GDR." In these, he pilloried censorship measures, but he was forced, because of "publicly injuring the reputation of the university," to discontinue his studies shortly before his graduation. After being excluded from the SED, there followed a ban on public readings and publishing, and his defamation as a "counter-revolutionary" and "slanderer of the state," as well as on the grounds of "subversive tendencies" in his literary works. In the "memorial protocols," which were awarded the Nice Prize in France in May 1977, the author has retraced the processes involving his removal from the university and his exclusion from the FDJ [Free German Youth]. Until his imprisonment, Fuchs lived with Robert Havemann in Gruenheide.

Gerulf Pannach: Born in 1948, since October 1972 his chief occupation has been as a songwriter in the group of Klaus Renft, who is considered to be the father of rock music in the "GDR." From 1973 on, Pannach worked under his own management, and by 1974 he had already been issued a ban on appearances, because of "a wrong ideological basic attitude toward the state." A few months later he was surprised to receive a promotional contract from the Leipzig concert and guest performance board. After a few concerts with the combo of Klaus Renft, who in this last year was able to emigrate to West Berlin without a great deal of sensation, the ban on appearances became operative once more for Pannach. After his imprisonment because of associating with Wolf Biermann, he worked as a transport worker. With songs such as "Surpassing Without Catching Up" (refrain: "Surpassing without catching up, that is representative of the GDR, idiots are made into idols, when they praise what is"), he had gotten the "GDR" leadership mad at him.

Christian Kunert: He once characterized himself and his comrades-in-arms as "professional lifers on leave of absence." Kunert was born in 1952 and was, like Pannach, active as a songwriter. The two had worked out together a program of songs for public appearances, in which they made certain concessions. Supposedly this was recommended for approval by the bezirk authority in Leipzig to the Ministry for Culture, but this approval was subsequently not given for "reasons of political ideology." Just before his arrest, Kunert was working, just as Pannach, as a transport worker.

12114

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

CIVIL CODE TO BE UPDATED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 29 Aug 77 p 3

[Interview with Dr Jeno Szilbereky, deputy minister of justice, by M.V.:
"The Civil Code will be Modified"]

[Text] It was created in 1959--thus the Civil Code, one of our highest level collections of legal regulations, is already 18 years of age. Besides the labor law, the family law and the criminal law, this is our most comprehensive code. During the almost 2 decades past a whole series of changes have taken place in our country's society and in the property relationships. Progress has attacked even the time-fastness of certain paragraphs of this very good code. Thus, it must be adjusted to life's requirements, to the demands of progress: it must be modified. We asked Dr Jeno Szilbereky, deputy minister of justice, for answers to some of our questions about changing the Civil Code.

Increased Protection of Personal Rights

[Question] Perhaps our readers would first like to hear about the goal, purpose of the Civil Code.

[Answer] The Civil Code regulates a broad circle of life's relationships--in more detail, the property and personal relationships between citizens and the economic organizations, enterprises. Issues of being under age, of legal age, competency of individuals, property rights, the contract system that plays a large role in satisfying necessities, certain contract types, responsibility for illegal actions, restitution for damages, or rights to inheritance all appear in the law. There is no citizen or state or social organ, economic organization, that would not, in some way, be affected by the regulations of the Civil Code.

[Question] What makes modification of the law necessary?

[Answer] Since 1959, when it was created, socialist ownership conditions have become predominant in our people's economy. State socialist ownership is determining, socialist traits in cooperative wealth have also become stronger. The population's personal property has increased, at the same time the significance of private ownership decreased. These changes must also gain expression in the Civil Code.

With the continued growth of the economic management system, the significance of contractual relationships in production and trade has increased. The law's regulations regarding contracts--even in spite of the changes already enacted--are not suitable for the new requirements. Thus, regulation is necessary which will better assure realization of the goals of the people's economy, cooperation between the economic organizations, contract discipline, that will aid the better coordinated realization of central directing and the enterprise's independence. At the same time, stronger protection must also be provided against indecent economic activity and profiteering.

[Question] You said, comrade deputy minister, that the law regulates personal and property relationships. What changes will be made, for example, in rights relating to individuals by the proposed regulations?

[Answer] Our society, our state--in accordance with the constitution--assures free development of the personalities of the citizens in a broad way, and also the citizens' basic rights. The proposed law also increasingly promotes these requirements.

Behavior offending the basic human rights such as illegally to limit personal freedom, or to injure the rights to freedom of conscience, to life, bodily integrity, personal honor, or human dignity is prohibited and its consequences are certain civil law measures. It also belongs here--many may be interested--that the proposal also extends the protection of the right to use a name to names assumed within the sphere of scientific, literary, artistic or other public role activities. The proposal also serves the more effective protection of rights by defining behaviors which offend one's good reputation.

Business Secret, Contracts

Increased civil law protection must be provided for the economic organs against obtaining business or shop secrets in an unauthorized manner. The proposed law provides new regulations for this, and also for the protection of intellectual creations, including the protection of industrial rights.

The proposal includes in the law those of the regulations which worked out well in practice, and the modification of which by laws is justified, among them, the ones regarding transportation, venture contracts between enterprises, construction, planning and research contracts. It also modernizes the rules for sales contracts of agricultural products. It contains several

regulations for making contract discipline stricter: such is, for example, the new regulation for pre-contracts. If one party later declines to make the final contract, upon the other party's request, the court may force the party to enter into the contract on the basis of the pre-contract. (This affects very closely, for example, the parties who want construction done and like to have the small contractor under obligation well in advance.) The proposal standardizes the responsibility for carrying out the terms of the contract without failure and makes it stricter.

[Question] How does the firming up of contract discipline affect the citizens favorably?

[Answer] Whenever we purchase something, for example a consumer item or durable goods, or for example, if we have construction done, if our apartment is painted or repaired: a fundamental requirement for us is adequate quality in work and of the goods. Therefore, the proposal standardizes also the rules of responsibility for faultless completion of the services, and of guarantee and warranty. The purchaser's rights are laid down in clear terms as are his choices for repairs, exchange, for price reduction, or for damages. It also determines the deadline for living with these alternatives. Thus, it better serves not only the requirements of protection of quality, but also the protection of the consumer.

[Question] Would you mention some of those issues which returned many times in the social debate on professionalism?

[Answer] The Patriotic People's Front and the Hungarian Jurists' Federation organized a nationwide debate about the draft of the law proposal. Many hundreds of observations were voiced, very many of them could also be used.

The following was, for example, an issue debated in many respects: authorities or government organs now are responsible for damages caused by their employees, the officers or case workers, etc., only if culpability is first established by a punitive judgement or disciplinary resolution. In the interest of increased protection of the rights of citizens, and in the interest of eliminating the errors and bureaucratic traits that appear in the handling of cases, the proposal modifies this rule in such a way that previous punitive or disciplinary decision is not necessary for reparation of damages. If the lawbreaking step causes damage, it must be reimbursed.

Reimbursement for Damages, Widow's Vested Rights for Benefits

Something else: according to the law's present regulations, reimbursement for damages is due only for property damage. Thus, in personal injury damages must be paid for damaged clothing, but--in the absence of financial damage--no damages are due if the injury caused "only" disfiguration (for example, a permanent scar, spot on the face), or bodily deficiency not affecting the ability to work. But such injury also makes one's life more

difficult, it can be the source of many problems. Now the proposal provides the opportunity--in order to better serve the citizens' interests--to allow the court to award damages to the victim in case of serious injury, even if the injured did not actually suffer expressed or measurable financial damage.

Another topic, of interest to many: according to present regulations, the property of a deceased person which, for example, could be inherited by the children, the surviving spouse may use on the basis of the so-called rights to enjoy the benefits. Thus, during the time of enjoying the benefits, the inheriting person may not sell, for example, and may not even use the inheritance, though he obtained its ownership; his right is only formal. (Let me refer to an example of the television program "Legal Cases": the odd story of the half-million [forint] savings passbook.) Often this situation causes unfairness. Anyway, the conditions that made this right of the widow to enjoy the benefits, primarily for agricultural real property justified, have changed fundamentally. Dissolution of today's rigid regulation is necessary in the interest of the spouse as well as of the children. The proposal offers a solution whereby, with the exception of the dwelling and its equipment occupied by the spouse, the redemption of the rights to enjoy the benefits of other property such as automobile, real estate, vacation home--may be requested.

Just in a nutshell: so much for now about the expected modifications. The proposed law--and this is natural--is today still only a proposal. The Civil Code, being re-born, containing almost 700 paragraphs, will be presented to the National Assembly, where the parliament will debate it and eventually approve it.

[Reporter] Thank you for the interview.

8584

CSO: 2500

POLAND

PROTESTERS ADOPT ANTI-NEUTRON BOMB RESOLUTION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Sep 77 p 8

[Abridged text of a resolution adopted by participants of a mass youth demonstration in Warsaw, 12 Sep 77]

[Text] We, representatives of the young generation of Warsaw, a heroic and martyr city, capital of the country, in which memory of the horror of war is ever alive, a city which knows the value of peace as no other city, are shocked by the announcement of neutron bomb production.

Thirty-two years have passed since the moment when atomic mushrooms covered the sky over Hiroshima and Nagasaki with a deadly shadow. The ghastly results of the use of atomic weapons were revealed to the whole world. In this tragic manner began the nuclear arms race, which can lead to the complete annihilation of humanity.

The socialist community, with the Soviet Union at its head, plays a tremendous role in the struggle for peace. The socialist countries come forth on the international forum with numerous peace initiatives.

The militaristic circles of American imperialism are reaching for a new argument for atomic blackmail: the neutron bomb. With criminal hypocrisy, they are calling it the most humanitarian weapon of the twentieth century.

Only life in peace will assure us the conditions for creative work and study, for building a favorable future for our country. We seek to multiply the goods of our fathers. We want to build Poland and an ever more beautiful Warsaw, and not to rebuild from the conflagration of war.

This is why, hearing about new armaments concepts, we say "NO!"

We, young workers, students, and pupils of Warsaw schools, today add our feeling of shock and our decisive voice of opposition to the global campaign of protest.

We stand solidly with all who declare "Down With the Neutron Bomb." We want to live, to work, to participate actively in the preservation of peace and progress on earth. We will never allow anyone to interfere with us in this.

We demand unconditional observance of the provision of the Final Act of the Conference on Security!

We protest against all plans and concepts for new arms.

We demand peace for the whole world.

PEACE WILL CONQUER.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

BRIEFS

MILITARY POLITICAL ACADEMY REFORM--On 1 September 1977, at the F. Dzierzynski Military Political Academy [WAP], 3-year graduate intramural studies will begin for graduates from higher officer schools of a political type. The same is true for those who have completed higher officer schools having a command-technical orientation and were then transferred to the party-political apparatus where they finished a qualifying course for political officers. These studies will be conducted in all WAP faculties. Graduates, depending on their chosen course of study, will receive master's degrees in education, economics, history or political science. Noteworthy is the removal of entrance examinations in favor of a pre-acceptance interview. This will enable the acceptance of a significantly larger number of students for the first academic year than is anticipated for the second and third academic years. The first year is being treated as a period of thorough student evaluation. During the latter part of the first year, the WAP commandant will appoint a special committee which will appraise the qualifications of officers for the second academic year. Students who are not deemed qualified for the second year, will receive transfer orders to other units along with a certificate of Advanced Officer Improvement Course (Wyzszy Kurs Doskonalenia Oficerow) completion. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 77 p 5]

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

PROJECTED POPULATION OF 25 MILLION FOR 1990

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 2, Apr-Jun 77 pp 325-334

[Article by Dr. Vl. Trebici and Dr Ilie Hristache: "Romania's Population by 1990"]

[Text] In setting forth the principles and objectives of the demographic policy and that for use of the labor force, the RCP Program points out that "... suitable measures will be taken for a normal demographic growth, a proper proportion for the age of the population, and the maintenance of our people's youth. A policy will be consistently implemented to increase the birth rate and to aid children and families with many children, so that Romania's population will reach at least 25 million in 1990 and about 30 million in the year 2000." (1)

The above-mentioned quantitative demographic aims conform to the general strategy for building the fully developed socialist society, with adequate scientific substantiation from the political, national, economic and demographic standpoints. These aims require a major demographic effort on the part of the entire nation, to be supported by a series of social and demographic measures.

In the over-all evolution of Romania's population, the prospects for the years 1990 and 2000 can be appraised on the basis of the figures in Table 1.

The average growth rate of the Romanian population fluctuated around 1 percent a year (a possible doubling of the population in about 70 years). In the period from 1870 to 1970 the rate was about 0.9 percent a year, and in 1970-1975 it was about 1 percent a year. A population of 25 million will require a growth rate of at least 1.1 percent, rising to 1.8 percent a year in the last decade of the century. It is hard to imagine a growth rate in 1991-2000 period 60 percent higher than the one in the 1976-1990 period, corresponding to an average annual gain of about 500,000 persons compared to about 200,000 in 1971-1975. Therefore the rate will have to be gradually raised, beginning with the 1980's.

We shall try to evaluate the demographic conditions that would make the foregoing figures possible, along with certain implications and consequences.

So far demographic forecasting has been of the exploratory-tendential type par excellence. It is actually a projection or conditional long-range view, since

it is based upon the evaluation of the trends of the birth rate and death rate over a period long enough to establish "laws" of the birth and death rates and, in general, upon their extrapolation for a given time. Regardless of the method, general or analytical, projecting the population implicitly or explicitly involves one hypothesis about the birth rate (3) and another about the death rate.

The normative approach to demographic forecasting has just begun. Setting as an aim of demographic policy a model of stationary population (some countries have undertaken this), a model of optimal population or one of a population of a given size or structure could be considered forecasting of the normative type.

(1) Tabelul nr. 1

(2) Evoluția populației României în perioada 1870-2000 *

	(3) Numărul populației	Rata medie anuală de creștere între anii respectivi (%) (4)
31.XII.1870	8 600 000	—
12.II.1891	10 000 000	0,8
31.XII.1900	11 168 000	1,1
31.XII.1912	12 898 000	1,2
31.XII.1920	12 419 000	-0,5
29.XII.1930	14 280 729	1,4
6.IV.1941	16 126 063	1,2
25.I.1948	15 872 624	-0,2
21.II.1956	17 489 450	1,2
15.III.1966	19 103 163	0,9
20.VI.1969	20 000 000	1,5
31.XII.1970	20 361 192	1,2
31.XII.1975	21 352 000	1,0*
1990	25 000 000	1,1
2000	30 000 000	1,8

(5) * de fapt 0,96%

1. Table 1
2. Evolution of Romanian population in the period of 1870-2000 (2)
3. Size of population
4. Average annual growth rate between the respective years (%)
5. *Actually 0.96%

Long-Range Demographic Trends

Regardless of the method of demographic projection, the first step is to study the demographic trends in the past, which necessarily requires application of the analysis of the dynamic series, with use of the various methods of adjustment (graphic, mechanical and analytical) as a basis for extrapolating the trends. This study assumes both the behavior of the whole population as a system and that of its components, its fertility and death rate.

Since the population growth rates fluctuate from year to year and from one subperiod to another we must define, within the 1946-1976 period, some subperiods that are significant from the standpoint of the behavior of the two components (fertility and the death rate) and consequently of the behavior of the whole population as a system.

We accordingly distinguish the following subperiods: (1) 1946-1947, characterized by the trend toward recovery of the marriages and births delayed by the war and the 2 years of drought, as well as a very high death rate; (2) 1948-1955, when the birth rate was relatively high but the death rate declined rapidly because of a series of factors among which the health system and the effective medical-health measures played an important part: Between 1948 and 1955 the gross death rate dropped 60 percent, finally resulting in a relatively high natural increase; (3) 1956-1966, when the death rate continued to decline with a slight recovery toward the end of the subperiod because of an age structure brought about by demographic aging and a steadily accelerated decline of the birth rate; (4) 1967-1976, when there was a strong recovery of the birth rate due to the well-known measures taken at the end of 1966, but it did not last very long. There was another, more limited recovery in 1974 continuing into 1975 and 1976, while the death rate fluctuated around 9.5 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants due to an increasingly unfavorable age structure. The 1967-1976 period should actually be subdivided into two: 1967-1973 and 1974-1976.

Throughout the whole 1946-1976 period the average annual increase came to 188,500 persons, and the average annual growth rate was about 1 percent. Consequently, despite some fluctuations by years and subperiods, the Romanian population's average annual growth rate is about 1 percent. But the annual variations are pronounced, with bad effects upon the population's age structure. We may conclude that in the last few years the average annual population increase is about 200,000 persons, at an average annual growth rate of 1 percent.

Evaluation of the death rate is no great problem for demographic forecasting. Its history can be divided into three phases, namely a relatively constant high level in 1930-1940 (about 20 percent) continuing into the first years after World War I ^[sic], a very rapid decline in 1948-1964 (8.1 percent in 1964), and a new, slightly rising trend since 1964 (about 9.5 percent).

(1) Tabelul nr. 2

(2) Sporurile totale, sporurile medii anuale și ratele medii anuale în perioada 1948-1955; 1956-1966; 1967-1976¹

(3) Subperioade	(4) Sporul populației (mil persoane)		(5) Rata de creștere a populației (%)	
	(6) mediu anual	(7) limite	(8) medie anuală (r)	(7) limite
1948-1955	185	44-285	1,0	0,3-1,7
1956-1966	185	100-258	0,9	0,5-1,5
1967-1976	231	144-436	1,1	0,7-2,3
din care: (9)				
1967-1973	241	144-436	1,2	0,7-2,3
1974-1976	206	201-216	1,0	0,9-1,0

1. Table 2

2. Total and annual average gains and annual average rates in 1948-1955, 1956-1966, and 1967-1976 (4)

3. Subperiods

4. Population gain (1,000's of persons)

5. Population growth rate (%)

6. Annual average

7. Limits

8. Annual average (r)

9. Including

Since this increase was accompanied by a pronounced decline in the specific death rates by age groups, it is entirely due to the shift in the age structure toward a higher proportion of the older groups. Since the process of demographic aging will continue in future years, the gross death rate will increase to 10.5-11.0 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants by 1990, the level around which the general death rate has fluctuated in such countries as France, England and Sweden in the last few years. (5)

The average longevity ("life expectancy at birth") will continue to increase, it is true, with smaller gains, confirming the hypothesis of mortality tables of the UN type according to which, on the basis of a shorter average longevity, the increase is more pronounced, so that it is of a logistic type. In Romania for example the average longevity increased from 42 years (1932) (6) to 69.08 years according to the 1972-1974 mortality table, which means that in the 1932-1956 period it increased by 0.88 years each year, in the 1956-1966 period by about 0.5 years (2.5 years in a 5-year period), and in the last few years by about 0.225 years each year. Accordingly and in view of the existence of an asymptote (the limit of biologic mortality of about 74 years, according to J. Bourgeois-Pichat, for a national population), it could be estimated at about 73.9 years in 1990 (76.1 years for women and 71.7 years for men).

The possible increase of life expectancy at birth is greatly favored by the potentials for reducing infant mortality. With an infant mortality of about 31 deaths a year per 1,000 live births, Romania attained the lowest figure in its demographic history: Infant mortality was 6 times less than in 1938. Yet Romania's level is 2.5-3 times higher than the lowest indices in Europe (9.6 percent in Sweden, 10.1 percent in Finland, 11.5 percent in the Netherlands, and 12.9 percent in France). In 1956-1966 it decreased by 3.74 per thousand a year and in 1968-1976 by 3.56 per thousand a year. In the next few years it will continue to decline, with smaller and smaller increases (increments), eventually reaching the level of 10 percent considered as a ceiling (level of endogenous mortality) (7). It is therefore to be expected that in continuation of the established trend infant mortality will reach about 16-18 percent by 1990.

But the controlling factor in demographic evolution is the fertility of the feminine population. Aside from the fact that in the balance (N-M) the N factor is the most important (N is greater than M), mortality cannot be reduced beyond a certain limit.

"Production of life" (N) is a function of a quantitative or extensive factor (the feminine population of fertile age) and of another factor, qualitative or intensive, namely its fertility:

$$N = \sum_{x=15}^{49} P_x^F \cdot f_x$$

where P_x^F is the size of the feminine population of age x (15, 16, ..., 49).
 f_x is the specific fertility at age x:

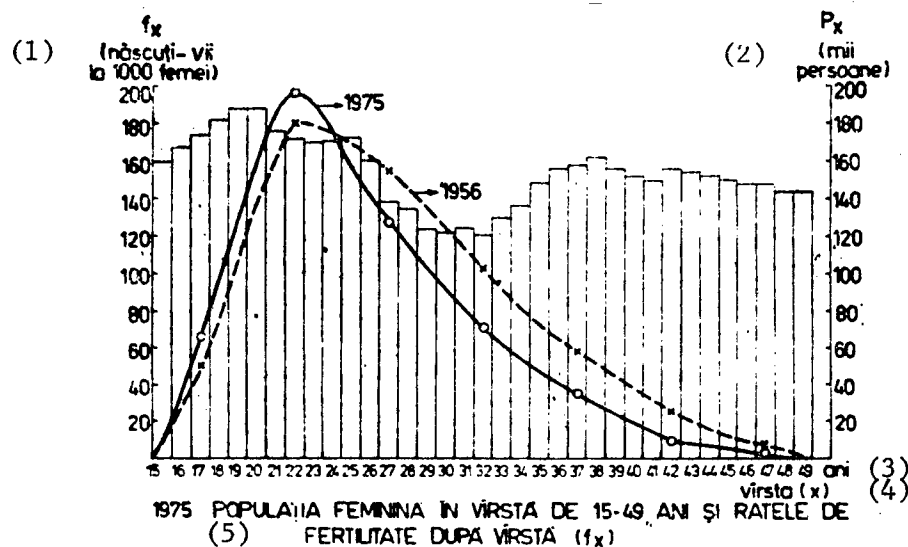
$$f_x = \frac{N_x}{P_x^F}$$

N is the total number of live births.

At any given point, the feminine population of fertile age represents 35 cohorts or generations appearing successively in demographic history. Therefore they constitute a structure determined by the proportion of each age group in the fertile feminine population. Consequently its structure at any given point is a function of the initial effectives of the generations and of their mortality. But the effective of a generation is determined by the fertility regime of the feminine population of fertile age, determined by the rates of specific fertility (f_{15} , f_{16} , ..., f_{49}) and represented by a fertility curve.

We shall call this fertility curve a "model" of fertility, formed by the combined effect of a large number of socioeconomic factors and ultimately expressing a "cultural model" in the very broad sociological sense of the word. Maximum fertility at the ages of 20-24 years, followed by a very pronounced decline, is characteristic of Romania. In general the gross fertility rates and the sum of the reduced births indicate a reduced final progeny or the "precocious" formation of the final progeny.

Let us examine the female population of fertile age in 1975 (the female generations of 1926-1975). Figure 1 tells us that the age effectives of the female population are different:



1. Live births per 1,000 women
2. Thousands of persons
3. Years
4. Age (x)

5. Female population aged 15-49 and fertility rates according to age (f_x)
6. Figure 1

The effectives aged 35-49 are in a very high proportion, but women's procreation is relatively high at the ages of 20-29. After 30 and especially after 35 their contribution is very limited, so that a large part of the fertile period

is actually little used or not even used at all. A gross birth rate of 19.7 live births per 1,000 inhabitants in 1975, or a gross fertility rate (number of live births by 1,000 women of fertile age) of 77.5, corresponds to 2.62 children per woman who has lived 35 fertile years, or a gross reproduction rate (average number of daughters a woman would leave after her fertile period expires) of 1.27, so that there are prospects of expanded reproduction of the population.

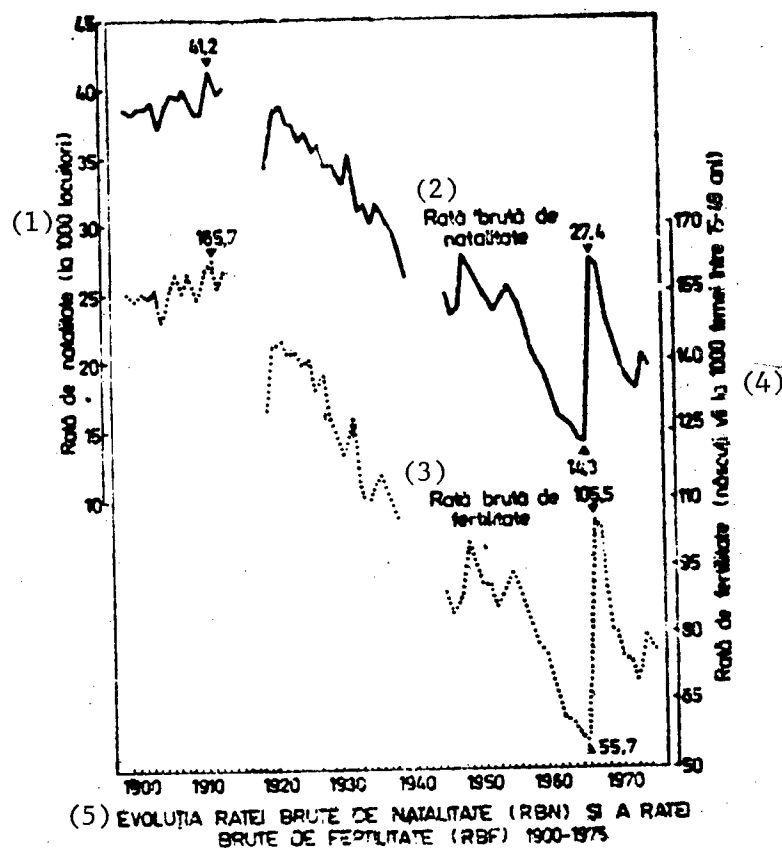
Our conclusion about the fertile population is that its structure is disadvantaged by the different effectiveness of the female generations and also by evident symptoms of demographic aging. The average age of the fertile female population has regularly increased. The increased proportion of the "adult" fertile female population (35-49 years) is, *ceteris paribus*, a factor for reduction of the number of live births.

The evolution of fertility, the major factor in the evolution of the population, is graphically illustrated by Figure 2, for the 1900-1975 period. (8)

The decline of the Romanian population's fertility began after World War I, before the drop in the death rate. This is one of the distinctive features of the "demographic transition" in Romania. As a long-range trend, the declining fertility shows certain peculiarities in various subperiods. In the first years after World War II, after the fluctuating recovery of the delayed births, there was a sharp drop in fertility until 1966, when it reached the minimum. In 1967-1973, after the familiar recovery of the birth rate, the decline continued at a lower rate until 1973, after which there was a new recovery (1974) at a level more or less maintained in 1975 and 1976, but it cannot be called the start of a new trend.

For lack of data on cohorts (longitudinal analysis) we must base our judgments on the data for each year (momentary or transversal analysis). The sum of the reduced births, interpreted as the final progeny of a woman (at the age of 50), dropped from about five children (1920-1924) to 2.6 children in 1976. With a very low death rate the final progeny needed to replace the parents' generation by the children's generation is about 2.1 children, so that it may be said that not only simple but also expanded reproduction have been secured by the recovery of the birth rate from 1967 to 1976. Actually the gross reproduction rates (the number of daughters a woman leaves after her fertile period expires) vary between 1.67 and 1.18 in 1967-1976, that is the proportion of the following generations would be 67 or 18 percent higher than that of the preceding generations (excepting the effect of the death rate).

Analysis of the "model" of fertility of the female population of fertile age enables us to bring out the distinctive features of fertility according to age and to evaluate the effects of some socioeconomic factors.



(6) Fig. 2

1. Birth rate per 1,000 inhabitants
2. Gross birth rate
3. Gross fertility rate
4. Fertility rate (live births per 1,000 women between 15 and 49 years of age)
5. Evolution of the gross birth rate (RBN) and the gross fertility rate (RBF) in 1900-1975
6. Figure 2

(1) Tabelul nr. 3

(2) Evoluția ratei brute de natalitate (RBN), a ratei brute de fertilitate generală (RBF) și a sumei nașterilor reduse (SNR) în perioada 1900-1976

	(3) RBN (nașcuți-vii la 1 000 locuitori)	(4) RBF (nașcuți-vii la 1 000 femei în vîrstă de 15-49 ani)	(5) SNR (număr de nașcuți-vii de o femeie de vîrstă fertilă*)
1900-1904	38,5	154,5	5,41
1905-1909	38,38	155,8	5,45
1910-1914	39,7	159,6	5,59
1915-1919 ** ** **
1920-1924	37,0	142,1	4,97
1925-1929	35,5	136,4	4,77
1930-1934	32,9	120,5	4,22
1935-1939	30,0	109,8	3,84
1940-1944 ** ** **
1946-1950	25,2	92,2	3,23
1951-1955	24,8	90,9	3,18
1956	24,2	89,9	2,89
1957	22,9	85,7	2,73
1958	21,6	81,9	2,59
1959	20,2	77,1	2,43
1960	19,1	73,9	2,34
1961	17,5	68,4	2,17
1962	16,2	63,5	2,04
1963	15,7	61,9	2,01
1964	15,2	59,9	1,96
1965	14,6	57,3	1,91
1966	14,3	55,7	1,90
1967	27,4	105,5	3,66
1968	26,7	102,9	3,63
1969	23,3	89,6	3,19
1970	21,1	81,2	2,89
1971	19,5	75,3	2,64
1972	18,8	72,7	2,54
1973	18,2	70,4	2,46
1974	20,3	79,3	2,72
1975	19,7	77,5	2,62
1976	19,5	74,2	2,60

(6) * Suma nașterilor reduse s-a determinat aproximativ. Datele sînt obținute în optică transversală: ele ar putea fi interpretate ca descendență finală, populația feminină fiind considerată, în acest caz, ca populație staționară.

(7) ** Datele lipsesc pentru perioada celor două războaie mondiale.

1. Table 3
2. Evolution of the gross birth rate (RBN), the gross general fertility rate (RBF) and the sum of reduced births (SNR) in the 1900-1976 period
3. RBN (live births per 1,000 inhabitants)
4. RBF (live births per 1,000 women 15-49 years of age)
5. SNR (number of live births by a woman of fertile age*)
6. The sum of reduced births was approximately determined. The data were obtained transversally: They could be interpreted as final progeny, the female population being regarded in this case as stationary population.
7. Figures are lacking for the periods of the two world wars.

(1) Tabelul nr. 4

(2) Fertilitatea populației feminine pe grupe de vîrstă în anii 1950-1974

	1950-1957	1958-1966	1967-1974
15-19 ani (3)	53,4	57,5	69,2
20-24 ani	180,3	153,7	209,0
25-29 ani	150,7	111,4	156,5
30-34 ani	98,2	61,4	95,4
35-39 ani	58,7	32,9	39,4
40-44 ani	20,5	11,7	13,6
45-49 ani	2,5	1,1	0,9
(4) Suma nașterilor reduse	2,822	2,146	2,918
(5) Rata brută de reproducere	1,371	1,041	1,418
(6) Rata netă de reproducere *	1,234	0,967	1,33
(7)			

* Numărul mediu de fete pe care le-ar lăsa în urma ei o femeie dacă ar avea la toate vîrstele fertilitatea din anii indicați în tabel și mortalitatea din tabelele de mortalitate 1956, 1963 și 1970-1972.

1. Table 4
2. Fertility of the female population according to age groups in 1950-1974
3. Years
4. Sum of reduced births
5. Gross reproduction rate
6. Net reproduction rate*
7. *Average number of daughters a woman would leave if she had her fertility at all the ages in the years indicated in the table and the mortality in the mortality tables for 1956, 1963 and 1970-1972.

Despite some differences among the three subperiods, we may speak of a "model" of fertility formed during the last 25 years, the common characteristics of which are maximum fertility in age groups of 20-24 years (the average age of mothers at the births of all their children fluctuates around 25 years) and very rapid decline of fertility after the age of 29. The final progeny is constituted very rapidly at a relatively young age (the third quartile of the final progeny curve, at about 28 years), but with a limited number of children (2.8 children in 1950-1957, 2.1 years [sic] in 1958-1966, and 2.6 children in 1967-1974). The regime of replacement of generations is itself a function of the same situation: In 1958-1966 replacement of the generation was not assured (the net reproduction rate was less than one), but in 1967-1974 reproduction was expanded by 33 percent. In the latter case the years of 1967 and 1968, with a very high fertility level, had an intensive effect. From the sociological standpoint "nuclearization" of the family is the most characteristic trend. The nuclear type of family is replacing the expanded family more and more.

Therefore the demographic forecast must not only allow for the trends observed in the past but also evaluate, in a general way, the foreseeable effects of some measures.

The Future of the Romanian Population

More detailed analysis of the demographic trends and especially of fertility leads us to some conclusions useful for demographic forecasting. The overall

method of forecasting that quite well describes the population's behavior as a system, the method of components (the analytical method) and normative evaluation, the method of scenarios and the method of simulation must all be used together. We accordingly need a broad methodology for demographic projections and we must abandon the narrow view of projections of the exploratory-tendential type.

If we consider that the average annual increase in Romania's population ($\bar{\Delta}$) is about 200,000 and its average growth rate (r) is about 1 percent, in 1990 the size of the Romanian population under these circumstances, in the middle of the year, would be:

$$\begin{aligned} P_{1990} &= P_{1975} + (14 \times 200\,000) = 24\,253\,158 \\ P_{1990} &= P_{1975} (1.01)^{14} = 24\,665\,000 \end{aligned}$$

The figures are below 25 million in both cases. With an average annual growth rate of 1.1 percent it reaches 25 million. And this has been the Romanian population's growth rate for a long time and it could also be obtained in the next 15 years through greater fertility (or rather through modification of the fertility model) and further reduction of the death rate.

As we said, demographic projection requires the analytical method and consequently projection of the population according to age and sex, and this requires separate projection of fertility and mortality in order to determine the number of live births and deaths in the forecasted period.

The forecast made by one of the authors (9) introduces an innovation: He uses the method of matrical projection, based on an electronic processing program, which provides possibilities for simulation.

If $\lambda_{i,k}$ is the possibility of prospective survival for age i and year k and if $P_{i,k}$ is the population of age i in year k , we obtain:

$$\begin{aligned} P_{i,k+1} &= \lambda_{i-1,k} \cdot P_{i-1,k} \\ P_{i+1,k+1} &= \lambda_{i,k} \cdot P_{i,k} \\ P_{i+2,k+1} &= \lambda_{i+1,k} \cdot P_{i+1,k} \end{aligned}$$

In this case:

$$\text{Matricea } \Lambda = \{ (P_{i,k}; \lambda_{i,k}) \}_{\substack{i=0, 1, \dots, n \\ k=1, 2, \dots, 1}} \quad (n \times 1)$$

1. Matrix

the elements of which are the probabilities of prospective survival corresponding to ages i and the forecasted years K .

The column vector $P = \begin{pmatrix} P_0 \\ P_1 \\ \vdots \\ P_n \end{pmatrix}$ has as elements the population corresponding to the ages as of 1 January of the base year.

The line vector $R = (r_1, r_2, \dots, r_l)$ contains the population at the age of zero years for each year K that pertains to the time of projection of the population.

Alongside these elements constituting the initial data, we must also specify:

1. Matrix
$$\text{Matricea } P = \{(P_{i,k})\} \begin{matrix} i = 0, 1, 2, \dots, n \\ k = 1, 2, \dots, l \end{matrix} \quad (n \times l)$$

having as component elements the projected population at age i in year K ;

1. Matrix
$$\text{Matricea } X = \{(X_{h,k})\} \begin{matrix} h = 1, 2, \dots, s \\ k = 1, 2, \dots, l \end{matrix} \quad (s \times l)$$

made up of the population according to age groups h in each year K of the time of the forecast.

The line vector $T = (t_1, t_2, \dots, t_l)$ containing the total population for each year K of the time of the forecast.

By means of this model the forecast was made in several variants according to the hypotheses adopted. In all cases the level of 25 million for 1990 was taken as the minimum level, and the hypotheses concerning fertility and mortality were subordinated to this level. In other words this method brings out the demographic conditions, in different variants, that would lead to the objective proposed for 1990.

In a general formulation, to reach the figure of at least 25 million, the fertility regime for the whole period should be at least on the 1970 level: a gross birth rate of about 21 percent, a gross reproduction rate of 1.402 (a final progeny of 2.89 children), and an average annual growth rate of at least 1.1 percent.

The "law" of mortality was the same for all seven variants: The linearly interpolated probabilities of survival are on the increase, so that from the average longevity of 68.62 years (1970-1972) a longevity of 71.72 years (for men) and 76.13 years (for women) will be reached in 1990, which corresponds to the Swedish mortality table for 1963-1967. (10) The increase of about 5.3 years in the average longevity can be considered plausible (0.3 years in each year, or 1.5 years in each 5-year period).

From the standpoint of fertility, the seven variants use variable values: The first variant calls for a constant fertility regime for all the years of the forecasted period, corresponding to a gross reproduction rate of 1.402. All the other six variants have different reproduction rates.

Therefore in consideration of the projected survivors and live births, the population in 1990 (1 January 1991) will be between 25,119,000 and 26,468,000 (variant 7), corresponding to the figure in the RCP Program.

We consider the third variant more plausible.

(1) Tabelul nr. 5

(2) Indicii demografici principali ai populației României în perioada 1976-1990 (varianta 3)

(3) Indicii demografici	(4) Perioada		
	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990
Numărul populației * (mii)	22 550	23 797	25 134
Numărul mediu anual de nașcuți-vii (mii)	453	466	487
Numărul mediu anual de decese (mii)	214	217	220
(5) Sporul mediu anual (mii)	239	249	267
Rata medie anuală de natalitate (‰)	20,7	20,1	19,9
Rata medie anuală de mortalitate (‰)	9,8	9,4	9,0
Rata medie anuală a sporului natural (‰)	10,9	10,8	10,9
Rata medie anuală de creștere a populației (%)	1,1	1,1	1,1

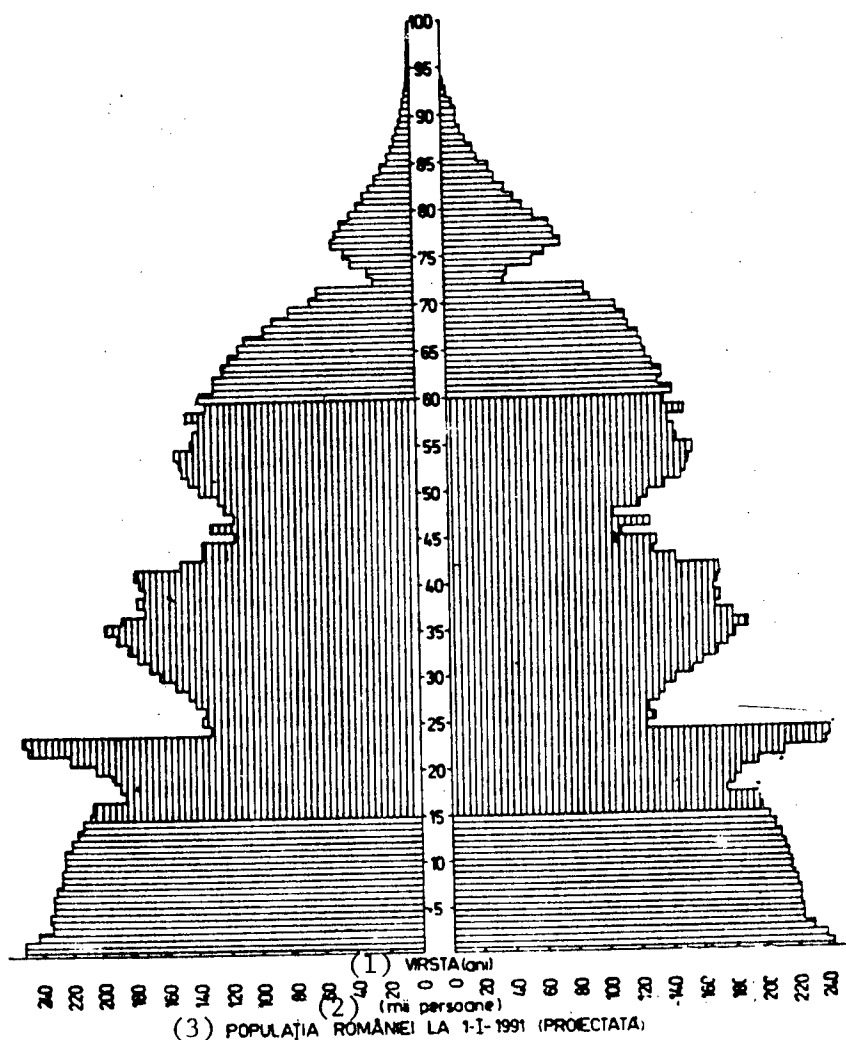
(6) * La sfârșitul ultimului an al perioadei.

1. Table 5
2. Main demographic indices of the Romanian population in the 1976-1990 period (variant 3)
3. Demographic indices
4. Period
5. Size of the population* (thousands)
 - Average annual number of live births (thousands)
 - Average annual number of deaths (thousands)
 - Average annual increase (thousands)
 - Average annual birth rate (%)
 - Average annual death rate (%)
 - Average annual rate of natural increase (%)
 - Average annual growth rate of the population (%)
6. *At the end of the last year of the period

The average annual number of live births in the 1986-1990 period would exceed the 1975 and 1976 figures by about 16 percent. The gross birth rate would be very close to that in 1974-1976, of about 20.5 percent. The slightly declining death rate would be due to a sharp drop in mortality (a normative objective).

The female generations of 1956-1966 join the fertile female population, successively, in 1971-1981 and, if we consider the first 15 years very important for fertility, it means that the greatest negative effect will be felt in 1986-1996. But the greater probability of survival of the female generations is a favorable factor: In 1932 about 50 percent of the female generation survived from birth to the age of 50 (the fertile age limit). In the last 5 years (the 1970-1972 mortality table) the figure is nearly 90 percent. In 1976-1990 the effectives of the female generations will survive to an even greater extent due to the declining mortality. But fertility is still a basic problem.

The pyramid of the population's ages as of 1 January 1991 (Figure 3) gives us some interesting demographic indications. We note a process of straightening the base of the pyramid due to a balanced birth rate in the forecasted years. The "recesses" caused by the shortage of births in World War I are attenuated: The generations of 1916-1919 are at the peak of the pyramid and disappear from it in the next 10 years (1991-2000).



1. Age (years)
2. Thousands of persons

3. The population of Romania as of 1 January 1991 (projected)

Some calculations show us that the process of aging of the population (11) continues into the 1976-1990 period, affecting not only the total population but also the population of working age and the fertile female population.

The proportion of the young population (0-14 years of age) is increasing but the proportion of the older population is increasing faster. The proportion of the adult population is dwindling, a process that leads to greater "pressure" brought to bear by the young and older populations on the labor potential. The age dependence ratio is increasing from 654 persons in 1976 to 741 in 1991, presenting many social, economic and other problems. The average age of the labor potential is increasing, and the population of fertile age will show the same trend.

(1) Tabelul nr. 6

(2) Repartizarea populației totale pe grupe mari de vîrstă în anii 1976, 1986 și 1991 (%)

	1.I.1976	1.I.1986	1.I.1991
(3) TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0
(4) 0-14 ani	25,3	26,5	26,9
(5) 15-59 ani	60,5	59,1	57,5
(6) 60 ani și peste	14,2	14,4	15,6
(7) Vîrstă medie (ani)	33,03	33,33	33,63
(8) Vîrstă mediană (ani)	30,69	31,01	31,34

1. Table 6
2. Distribution of total population by large age groups in 1976, 1986 and 1991 (%)
3. Total
4. 0-14 years
5. 15-59 years
6. 60 years and above
7. Average age (years)
8. Median age (years)

The most important conclusion is that the quantitative level (at least 25 million inhabitants) will be reached in 1990 under the adopted demographic conditions, but this will not be enough. In the first place, some trends toward aging will be intensified at the same time, and in the second place achievement of this index cannot guarantee attainment of the figure of 30 million planned for the year 2000.

The whole demographic analysis and the attempted forecast indicate the need of adopting other demographic hypotheses and especially a hypothesis of fertility in relatively rapid growth, with all its favorable consequences for a higher rate of demographic growth, a "remodeling" of the family, and rejuvenation of the population. All this points up the necessity of an active demographic policy with a coherent program and designed as a long-term strategy conforming to the general process of building our fully developed socialist society.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism," Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1975, p 92.
2. For the 1870-1970 period, see C. Ionescu, "Man, Society and Socialism," Bucharest, Academy Publishing House, 1973, p 23.
3. It is more correct to say "fertility." The difference between "birth rate" and "fertility" is not essential for the moment.

4. The average annual rates were determined by relating each time the final term of a subperiod to the final term of the previous period. For example, for the subperiod of 1956-1966: $(1 + r)^{11} = \frac{P_{1966}}{P_{1955}} = \frac{19,141}{17,325}$, which gives

$$(1 + r) = \sqrt[11]{\frac{19,141}{17,325}} = \sqrt[11]{1.1048}; \log (1 + r) = \log \frac{1.1048}{11} = \frac{0.04328}{11} = 0.00393$$

$$\text{antilog } (1 + r) = 1.009, \text{ whence } r = 0.9\%.$$
5. Adjustment of the general mortality curve leads to determination of a trend of a parabolic type: a minimum point followed by a slight increase.
6. A value that can also be considered valid for 1946-1947, when the level of the general mortality was about the same as in 1930-1940.
7. Determination of the trend by means of the modified exponential ($y = k + ab^x$), admitting a lower asymptote, confirms the above considerations.
8. On the basis of the data in the study of G. R. Serbu (G. Retegan), "Evolution of the Fertility of the Female Population in Romania in 1900-1960," REVISTA DE STATISTICA, No 4, 1962. V. Ghetau, "Considerations on the Population Reproduction Index," REVISTA DE STATISTICA, No 12, 1971. "Demographic Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Romania 1974" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Romania 1976."
9. Ilie Hristache, "Forecast of the Population of the Socialist Republic of Romania to 1990," STUDII SI CERCETARI DE CALCUL ECONOMIC SI CIBERNETICA ECONOMICA, No 2, 1975.
10. Use of the UN standard mortality tables or of the Coale-Demeny models leads to approximately the same results.
11. See Vl. Trebici, "Demographic Aging of the Romanian Population," VIITORUL SOCIAL, No 1, 1972.

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ROMANIA

OFFICIALS DISCUSS WAR AND PEACE AT SESSION

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 2, Apr-Jun 77 pp 245-261

/Extracts from reports by Prof Dr Docent Mihnea Gheorghiu, Ion Coman, Suzana Gadea, George Macovescu, Valter Roman and Mihail Florescu at the report session of 26 January 1977 on the subject "Problems of Peace and War Under the Scientific-Technical Revolution"/

M. Gheorghiu Report

/Text/ Social and political evaluation of technology, and of actual and probable effects of its application on the many levels of social activity, is of the greatest interest today to increasingly broad circles of intelligentsia, administration and public opinion in all countries, including the governments and international organizations concerned by the armaments race.

In connection with this evaluation, the traditional and more recent studies of polemology, a discipline devoted to scientific investigation of wars, conflicts and peaces (since a single peace has not yet been known, at least in this world), have increased to a surprising extent of late compared to the prewar period, although the simplest logic based upon an optimistic view of modern political history would rather have suggested a progressive loss of interest in this problem on the part of scientists. On the contrary their expansion indicates a greater, or even a pronounced interest.

There are now a great many scientific forces in the world whose main effort is a concerted application of the dangerous classical sophism "si vis pacem para bellum." Accordingly any intellectual progress in this field could lead to the idea of the dialectical inseparability of peace and war, the inevitability of conflicts in a chain reaction, and the permanence of "the irrational pulsations generated by the structures of society itself that strain the duration of peace" (as the president of the French Institute of Polemology recently put it), when it should be contributing to a more effective preventive and therapeutic approach to armed conflicts. To be sure the great mythical horror of the year 1000 passed quickly enough, so that man created a new idol for himself from his scientific innovations, regarding himself, as at the end of the last century, as the master of nature because he had progressed from the

potter's wheel to the electric light. Now he is confronted with "the great dread of the year 2000," so that a new pattern in the sciences of peace must allow for the fact that (1) the colossal creative power of the human mind and technology is beginning to be overtaken by their destructive power, (2) this unquestionably progressing destructive power is setting in motion an incalculably greater destructive force due to the resulting imbalance of the forces of nature, and furthermore (3) man is daily aggravating his self-destruction by great and small geophysical and other kinds of wars because in provoking the causes of escalation he loses sight of their effects.

One of our justified "dreads" is still the "atomic bomb," to use the term established in the struggle for peace in the 1950's and 1960's. Now we are more sophisticated, both in general and in the modes of the expression "detente." In the nuclear era with its strategy of discouragement or encouragement it was very often difficult, after Hiroshima, to establish nonbelligerent relations between force and diplomacy. Henry Kissinger demonstrated this back in 1957 in his work "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy." The armaments race is demonstrating it even better today.

There is the hegemonic theory that if one or another of the superpowers "maintains stability in the strategic nuclear balance, the specter of a nuclear war departs," or that "In a period when the strategic nuclear forces are balanced the risks of a conflict with conventional weapons may become even more menacing." This very sophism contains a threat of nuclear force and of ecological and "total" war. Maintenance of these capacities for aggression or "response," as they are euphemistically called, is not likely to discourage, especially in Europe, the provocations and crises leading to the use of perfected conventional weapons as the partisans of progressive "neoclassical" armament insist. On the contrary the solution is to stop the race and market in armaments of any kind, beginning with atomic outbidding, and ultimately to disarm on the European and world levels, that is to disarm for the sake of development.

At the end of January the UN Committee for Science and Technology (to which 54 nations including Romania belong) officially began preparations for the coming UN Conference for Science and Technology in the Service of Development. As we know this conference was convened for 1979 during the last session of the General Assembly by a resolution introduced by the Romanian delegation. The extensive support this resolution received from the UN member nations, over 30 of which subscribed to the Romanian recommendation, indicates the importance and suitability of this meeting designed to aid the development of international collaboration on application of modern scientific-technical advances to expedite economic progress in the developing countries especially.

Romania's proposal to organize a world conference on this subject accordingly manifests the grave concern on the international level for the gradual reduction and elimination of the serious economic, scientific and technical gaps with their political consequences, some of which are inherently conflicting.

But the conflicts caused by the unequal use of the new scientific-technical advances do not start here. They are rooted in the deeper strata of the socioeconomic conflicts arising from the spread of the nations' insecurity, perpetuated by the old international political and economic order.

Upon recapitulating and reviewing the nature of the current problems of peace and war under the scientific-technical conditions of the end of the century and the millennium, we find that:

1. The armaments race is absorbing vast material resources and mobilizing or immobilizing the best forces of scientific research, while it also has a profoundly bad effect upon international affairs because (a) it fosters the policy of force, (b) it constantly threatens the peoples' security and human life in general, (c) it distorts the consciousness and the educational system by perpetuating distrust and hatred of other peoples, (d) it diverts scientific research from its natural purpose to development of weapons of mass destruction, and (e) it heavily burdens all nations' budgets and interferes with the use of major resources to raise the peoples' living standard.

2. Construction of a new world political and economic order requires complete reorganization of international relations on new principles and standards of full equity and justice, with all nations' unrestricted participation in international affairs. This means, in particular, (a) decisive measures for general and total disarmament, (b) a universal pact for abstention from force or the threat of force, (c) greater participation of the United Nations and other international bodies in preservation of peace, peaceful settlement of conflicts and resolution of international economic problems, (d) access of all countries, especially the developing ones, to scientific and technical advances, (e) new and democratic standards of international conduct eliminating any discriminatory provisions or unjust treaties, and (f) stable international collaboration based upon confidence, solidarity and consideration of mutual benefit.

3. Since the threat of imperialist aggression (the globalist technical-military monopoly) has not been finally eliminated, it is still necessary to strengthen national defense. This calls for knowledge of modern combat techniques and equipment of the armed forces that is always adequate to defend the people's revolutionary gains and national sovereignty and independence. It should also be noted here that (a) we regard national defense as a duty of the entire people and not just of a specialized corps, (b) as its name indicates it is defensive in nature and does not threaten other people, and (c) it will be necessary until disarmament is achieved, the danger of any aggression is removed, and an atmosphere of true confidence among nations is established.

As all the reports presented here have indicated, the problems of war and peace in modern society are not mere theoretical ones, with a vagueness reminding us of the ineffective and sterile appeals of Erasmus to the Christian princes to agree upon "the universal peace." Although they are of evident theoretical or ideological interest, everyday experience tells us that they are primarily practical problems of the greatest importance, closely related to modern society's trends of economic, social and political development, to the values and standards on which international relations are based, and to our ways of improving these relations.

The dual character of the use of scientific discoveries under the new advance of the RST /scientific-technical revolution/ gives rise to the basic idea that peace in the modern world must be universal, dynamic and constructive and that

it can only be achieved by international cooperation in all fields on the repeatedly stated principles.

This cooperation must be permanent, active and increasingly adequate, entailing a gradual change of the form and content of international relations and the means of cooperation to bring about a new economic and political order. Therefore the peace will be one and indivisible to be sure, but a progressive historical process based on the opportunities created by the new advances of science and technology, a process providing the climate essential to the further achievement of the objectives of the RST and consequently the very prerequisite for the use of their advantages, such as raw material and energy resources.

In the appeal to the values of peace and progress, which are inseparable from further stimulation of the RST and use of its results for the said purposes, an increasingly important part is being played today by the organized political and social forces, the labor movement, the communist parties and all democratic forces, a broad political front supported by the socialist countries, the small and medium states, the developing countries and the unaligned nations, which are making an essential contribution to the further shift of the balance of power in favor of peace.

Since science and technology will no longer be anyone's monopoly, the considerable contribution of the new scientific advances will serve to diminish the economic gap between the rich and poor countries as well as the possibility of political confrontations that could develop into military conflicts. Their interdependence is also specified, among other points, in the Final Act of Helsinki. Any forms of aggression or dictation involving violence and violation of any peoples' legitimate rights and sovereignty or any restrictions on their free development can become very dangerous hotbeds of tension and distrust among nations.

After so many calculations and statistics (some of them mentioned here) it is needless to say just what such a war would mean to the future of civilization. The nightmares of medieval literature and art on the subject of the wars of the period pale before the apocalypse of tomorrow created by the hand of man: a complete negation of the purpose and significance of his discoveries.

Accordingly the international scientific community, the center of the entire RST, is called upon to take further cognizance of the entire responsibility it has assumed in making its scientific innovations available to society. The modern scientist cannot be a sorcerer's apprentice who loses control of his own wonderful invention. He must be the master who knows how to direct all the triumphs of human genius in a symphony of the future civilization and the destiny of the new millennium, how to immediately find ways of harmonizing scientific and political values, and how to make the universality of the RST a means to the complete fulfillment of man and of humanity and its rehumanization. And logically enough this field overlaps the field of education.

It is the duty and right of Romanian scientists to freely assert the values of human civilization and to build a new, better and more just world firmly founded on peace, respect for all peoples' national dignity and a common direction of our universe.

It is certain that these ideas and the great values for which our ancestors fought will receive full confirmation and well-merited recognition in the world to which we aspire, founded upon law, justice and the high principles of morality and humanity to which science has always subscribed.

I. Coman Report

/Text/ A country's domestic and foreign policies are parts of a single whole, integral subsystems, in an extensive and varied dialectical connection, of a political system reflecting in its entirety and in its components that country's social-political foundations, its basic policies, and the distinctive features of its socioeconomic and governmental activity.

The basic objectives of the new stage of socialist Romania's development and the aims pursued by our entire people under the RCP Program conform to mankind's general hopes for a better life free of the nightmare of constant insecurity and the destruction wrought by the actual or virtual military conflicts of our time.

To this end the broad program adopted by the 11th Party Congress to implement security in Europe and to achieve a lasting peace, general disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament, which program was submitted to the attention and discussion of all UN member nations by the state document "Romania's Position on the Problems of Disarmament, Especially Nuclear Disarmament, and the Establishment of a Lasting World Peace," presents feasible and effective solutions to some of the more complex and urgent problems of the security and peace of all countries.

Romania's general policy, promoted by our world renowned president, Nicolae Ceausescu, with its aims of construction on the domestic level and international peace and collaboration on the foreign level, also permeates the policy of Romania's armed defense.

The term "defense" is used in international affairs with quite different actual meanings. It is apparent, among other things, that it is often used in both current political language and in various theoretical works in an obviously altered sense to gloss over ideas entirely opposed to the traditional human idea of defense. One sometimes hears of "defense of national interests," "defense of national security" or "common defense," but analysis in depth reveals that they do not refer to conservation of any nation's fundamental values such as independence, freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to self-determination and disposal of its resources. On the contrary in these cases the term "defense" is intended to conceal beneath a morally, politically and legally significant concept trends that actually perpetuate the interests of the supranational societies or promoters of the dominating economic and political position on all continents.

But by virtue of its aims and its political and military nature, socialist Romania's national defense is a true manifestation of the right to self-defense. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his address to the main party and command activists of the army in October 1976, "I feel we must state once again that

socialist Romania does not pursue and never will pursue aggressive aims against any nation, and that always and under any circumstances Romania and its people will fight solely to defend its sovereignty and independence against any attempt at domination or oppression and to preserve Romania's right to build its socialist and communist society in freedom..." (1)

It is apparent that socialist Romania's national defense fully observes international law, is designed and implemented to establish new international relations of confidence, and effectively contributes to the maintenance of peace. It serves the historically recognized political, legal and moral purpose of preparing a thoroughly legitimate armed response to any act of aggression in order to safeguard the vital interests and inalienable rights of the Romanian nation.

Emphatically asserting in all international forums every people's right to self-determination and consistently applying this principle in its international relations, socialist Romania also exercises its inalienable right to decide all questions involving its defense. On this subject the law clearly states, "The right to decide upon the problems of Romania's defense is a sovereign attribute of the Romanian state." (2) The profound logic of this provision is based upon the axiom that the nation's defense and development can be more vital to no one than to itself.

As the leading political force of socialist Romania and the supreme guarantee of our people's vital interests, the RCP performs its role as the vital center of our socialist nation through effective management of national defense and determination of the functions pertaining to protection of the entire system of social and state authorities.

On the general social and governmental level the party's leading role is implemented through preparation of the state's defense policy and military doctrine and through the solution of the basic problems of national defense by the national party congresses and conferences, the plenums of the Central Committee and the decisions of the Political Executive Committee or the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee. These authorities' decisions embrace the main aspects of national defense and the measures vital to its consolidation.

The fact that Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu is also chairman of the Defense Council and supreme commander of the Romanian Armed Forces, as well as his qualities as an outstanding leader, his revolutionary spirit, his profound devotion to the people, and the firmness and energy with which he acts for the progress and security of the Romanian nation, all guarantee Romania's protection in accordance with its present and long-range requirements.

The RCP realizes that the state plays an important part in the period of construction of our fully developed socialist society and transition to communism. Consequently the Romanian socialist state has outstanding tasks to perform in the organization of our socioeconomic activity as a whole and also in the armed defense of the nation's revolutionary gains, independence and sovereignty.

By virtue of its sovereignty and independence the Romanian state has essential defense functions legalized by the Constitution and the Law on National Defense.

It is the duty of the Defense Council to consider, coordinate and solve the major problems of national defense in both peace and war. This body, headed by the party secretary general, the president of the Republic and the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, determines Romania's basic system of defense and approves the measures for the general organization and preparation of the Armed Forces, the Patriotic Guards and other military units as well as the distribution and redistribution of troops throughout the country. The Defense Council also adopts the main measures to prepare the national territory for defense, approves and checks the implementation of the plans for procurement of the materiel essential to national defense and security, and determines the main measures for organization and material supply of local antiaircraft defense.

The characteristics of the Romanian defense policy and the particular way in which it is implemented are illustrated by the structure and operational preparation of our national defense system, which reflects the basic features of our social order as well as its historical, geographic, cultural, scientific, traditional and other traits. Based upon our party's conception of national defense as a concern of our entire people, the system of national defense includes various elements in balanced proportions, such as organizational structures of a military type (the army, the units of the Ministry of the Interior) and civilian fighting units (Patriotic Guards, local antiaircraft defense units, groups for training youth for national defense, resistance units) as well as other bodies formed to meet particular needs. This system is based upon our state's experience in defending our revolutionary gains and it conforms to the provisions of international law, the vital interests of our people and the traditions of their struggle for an independent and sovereign existence.

By virtue of the professional specialization of its permanent personnel and the great cohesion and adaptability of its structures under all circumstances, the army is the main strength of the defense system and the nucleus of all the forces intended to repel any invader. In keeping with its policy of international collaboration and peace, Romania keeps a small proportion of its citizens under arms, amounting to less than 1 percent, while the European average exceeds 1 percent. The competence of its personnel enables the army to provide for the training of the entire population for defense.

The entire military instruction of the population, the appropriate preparation of the economy and the territory, and the possibilities considered both on the higher level of strategy and on the lower one of tactics are based upon the necessities of defending Romania under the present political-military conditions and those foreseeable in the years to come. "... We have no strategy but to protect Romanian soil from any imperialist aggression and the policy of force," (3) as the supreme commander of our Armed Forces clearly defines the general, controlling objective the defense system is to pursue in its entirety and through concerted efforts on a national scale.

Romania's peaceful policy and its fundamental principle that military force is to be confined to defense are also strikingly illustrated by the organization of the decision making process and the delimitation of the authority to commit Romania to an armed defensive effort.

Socialist Romania's peaceful policy of abstention from force in resolving conflicts and of resorting to military force solely to repel aggression is so illustrated by the basic legal provision that the Grand National Assembly and the State Council can commit Romania to war only in the situations expressly provided by the fundamental law of the land, namely in case of armed aggression against Romania and in case of armed aggression against any other state to which Romania has mutual defense obligations assumed through international treaties, and then only in case of a situation wherein the obligation to declare war is specified. (4) In the spirit of the highest national legality, it is for the respective constitutional authorities to analyze and determine this matter involving the destinies of the people.

Romania's position and actions against division of the European continent into military blocs are another feature of Romanian foreign policy that is clearly important to defense.

The present developments prove beyond question that any real and equal security for all the states of Europe depends upon immediate measures for disarmament and military disengagement as well as abolition of the bloc policy.

The anachronism of the military blocs, increasingly apparent in the NATO countries, and the widespread conviction that the bloc policy must be abandoned have strengthened the trends toward independence of some NATO members and intensified the pressures of public opinion on the subject, calling for abolition of the blocs.

The importance of Europe's conversion to a continent of peace and collaboration was highlighted at the Conference of Communist and Labor Parties in Europe, held in 1976 and also attended by the government parties in the socialist member nations of the Warsaw Pact. The necessity of abolishing the division of Europe into opposing military blocs was also pointed out here as an essential contribution to the lasting peace and security of our continent and the whole world.

To the same effect, the conference of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries that was held in Bucharest in 1976 confirmed the readiness of these countries to dissolve the Warsaw Pact organization at the same time as NATO and, as a first step, to liquidate their military organizations.

By combining national defense with its efforts to attenuate and do away with the military threat of the blocs and to restore their full personalities to the European countries, enabling them to negotiate bilaterally and multilaterally without the obstacle of the blocs, Romania again evidences the peaceful purpose of its procedure in all fields, its true devotion to the cause of general peace, and its resolve to make actual contributions to detente and military disengagement that will give the General European Conference on Security and Cooperation an effective new start at Belgrade in achieving the beneficial objectives so laboriously agreed upon at Helsinki.

The whole world situation and the policy of force or threat of force have obliged Romania to cooperate with other socialist states for their protection,

which action is a matter of both foreign policy and defense.

The unrestricted sovereignty and independence of the states agreeing to collaborate is the sine qua non for international cooperation in defense as in all other fields. This policy is the only correct one because international commitments must be made by sovereign states if they are to be valid, and only sovereign states, fully capable of unrestricted internal action upon all their social and governmental forces, can carry out the commitments they have made.

Actions taken by a state to aid a country subject to aggression are clearly defensive actions, because they are intended to safeguard the attacked country's basic rights to a free and sovereign existence and are consequently legitimate and in conformity with international law.

Romania is emphasizing collaboration with all the socialist countries and developing its collaboration with the socialist Warsaw Pact countries and their armies because it believes that even after that organization is disbanded the Romanian army will be cooperating with the armies of the neighboring socialist countries in the spirit of the treaties of friendship, collaboration and mutual aid concluded with them. The Romanian army is expanding collaboration with the armies of all the socialist countries and of other friendly states favoring independent socioeconomic development and observance of every nation's right to self-determination.

The RCP feels that concentration of all the efforts and resources of society upon construction of the new order objectively requires international peace and collaboration. Therefore, since Romania bases its foreign policy on the new and democratic principles that should govern international relations, it has a defense policy in conformity with international law and with the sole purpose of guaranteeing the peace and security essential to Romania's progress.

S. Gadea Report

/Text/ One major party concern, flowing from the program for building our fully developed socialist society, is to develop education in close connection with the requirements of physical production and cultural activity and with the demands of the RST.

As we know the 11th Party Congress and the Program to Implement the Decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, on the subject of ideological, political and cultural indoctrination, established revolutionary policies and measures to raise the general educational level, intensify indoctrination in schools, closely integrate education with research and production, improve qualifications and organize retraining in all fields, and form a new man by generalizing 10 year education and eventually 12 year education and by promoting the RST in all social activity to meet the requirements of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism.

In this five-year plan the personnel requirement for socioeconomic development will be met by the occupational training of over 1.8 million persons, including

over 1.5 million skilled workers and about 300,000 technicians, experts and other specialized personnel. About 1.7 million persons a year will be enrolled in occupational improvement courses to supplement and renovate their knowledge.

There are now over 4 million pupils in the primary, elementary and high school grades and over 160,000 students in higher education. Education in the national minority languages has been correspondingly developed, including about 332,000 pupils and students. For the further improvement of public instruction the preschool educational system will be expanded to include 83 percent of the children between 3 and 6 years of age by the end of 1980. The structure and content of education will be improved so that by 1980 75 percent of the total number of high school pupils will be in specialized high schools. Higher education will be developed to include about 200,000 students by the end of the five-year plan, and pupils' and students' participation in productive activities under the teachers' supervision will be intensified.

But aside from the quantitative aspects, the social significance of education is also affected by the changes that are being made in its content.

In the forthcoming society of work and creation that we are building education, based upon the scientific grounds of party policy and the innovating spirit, is expected to make of every citizen an enthusiastic builder and defender of communism, a staunch fighter for progress and for equality among nations, a revolutionary in the true sense of the word.

Formation of the new man, a major aim of our party's policy, requires a higher standard of professional, political and scientific culture and instruction of the builders of socialism in all the discoveries of the human genius and in the objective laws of social development.

Development and improvement of education on all levels are based upon the principle of integrating education with research and production, with an effort to provide all graduates with a basic scientific and general cultural background, as well as specialized training to give the graduate a qualification in a trade along with the knowledge that will enable him to continue his studies in any form of higher education.

The adoption of new qualifications and specialties and the modernization of the educational plans permit training future specialists on a broad basis and conform to the extensive program for renovating and revolutionizing all education.

To meet the requirements of the programs for integrating education with research and production, flexible structures differentiated according to educational fields and subjects are being used to provide the necessary flexibility in the conduct of the school year.

Through integration with research and production all levels of education are being constantly renovated in keeping with the needs of modernization and improvement of its content, the objective trends of social development, and the latest advances of science and technology, which are helping Romanian schools to instruct and indoctrinate the kind of man essential to the society of today and especially that of tomorrow.

Yet the new man is not characterized solely by his professional training and competence but also by his revolutionary awareness, his scientific conception of the world and the new humanism, and also by his moral fiber based upon the principles of ethics and justice and by the spirit of international solidarity and friendship of workers. In view of these aims school education emphasizes formation of the graduates' socialist awareness and integration of the level of knowledge with the level of awareness, which also favorably affects the defense system by strengthening both the material and the moral support of Romania's defensive strength.

The people's self-awareness, reflected in the purposeful subjectivity of every member of society and naturally directed toward all-around national progress, still has its strong ancient roots. While in the preparation of youth for work and life scientific and technical progress, including progress in education, is essentially substantiated in the material and cultural legacy of our ancestors, the study and cultivation of history in schools of all levels, of the people's history and the historical perspective for understanding social phenomena, enhances the educational validity of all disciplines. History teaches every man and every youth that he is not on this land since yesterday or the day before yesterday but from ancient times, and when he is asked to lay down his life for this land he is only asked to pay a small measure of the interest on a capital of thousands of years. It clearly follows that Romanian education is one of the factors for consolidation of the national defense system.

This is illustrated by the words of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, who pointed out that further progress in building our fully developed socialist society (economically, socially, culturally, politically and democratically) will strengthen our entire people's resolve to protect what they have accomplished and to defend their nation and its independence.

But the rapidity and quality of this progress primarily depends upon the levels of knowledge and awareness of the building and defending citizen and the level of occupational training of the producer of material goods and all those active in the vast social system.

The level of the public's scientific-technical education increasingly strengthens the defense potential by virtue of the conscripted youth's ability to understand and readily use combat equipment and weapons, the availability of many engineers and technicians needed to operate the technical means in the army's arsenal, the employment of part of the scientific-technical potential in research to perfect defensive combat means, and the professional capacity of the labor force in the national economy to produce the combat means essential to the national defense system.

Note here that the citizens' education for national defense is not directed against any particular state but is solely intended to foster patriotic feelings and dedication to the whole process of building and protecting our fully developed socialist society.

This educational process emphasizes combatting warlike propaganda, cultivating international collaboration and exposure of the causes of wars, and determining

the ways of achieving world peace and general and total disarmament.

When there are reactionary forces in the world threatening international peace and security and an accelerated armaments race is going on, the general measures the party takes to ensure our national security include the direct contribution of education to the preparation of youth for national defense. This point was made by Nicolae Ceausescu when he said that in case of war all citizens must be ready to fight for the freedom, sovereignty and integrity of the nation, and that it is the duty of every citizen to make every effort to defend national independence and dignity so that our people will always be masters of their home.

To this end the Law on Organization of the National Defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania provides that the training of youth for national defense is to include patriotic indoctrination, general military instruction as well as instruction in local antiaircraft defense, and specialized training in groups for applied technology. These activities include all youths between 16 and 20 years of age, beginning with ninth grade (first year) of the trade schools throughout the whole period of instruction, apprentices on the job, first and second year pupils in the specialized postgraduate schools, and youths in economic units, institutions and communes. High school graduates who have qualified for admission to higher education perform a reduced (9 months) military service before they begin their studies. Of course the Ministry of Education and Instruction has educational responsibilities for training youth through the forms of instruction before military service is performed, especially since it is not a question of one-sided military training but of a broad preparation for work and life. For example, reading circles for field medicine will be included in the programs of the faculties of medicine, the medical aid schools and the nurses' schools.

Youth's national defense training, military drills and games of applied technology are among the efforts of our party and state, the children's and youth organizations and the public organizations to fully prepare the young generation for work and life and to educate a vigorous, hardy and resolute youth capable of building and defending, by force of arms if necessary, the future of socialist Romania. In the Pioneers' extensive athletic, tourist and defense training activities organized in groups like "The Carpathian Assault," "The Friends of Various Arms," shooting and swimming groups etc., an important part is played by the traditional programs of this kind organized in counties. Many of these recall feats of courage and arms, like "Stefan's Archers," "The Aurochs of Moldavia," "The Heroes of Paulis," "The Sons of the Olt," "The Heroes of Oituz," "We are the Descendants of the Heroes of Marasesti," or "Be Prepared to Defend the Nation." This particular form of instruction and indoctrination is also intended to foster socialist patriotism among youth and the fighting traditions of our people, to indoctrinate them in the spirit of discipline and order, to impart military, technical and medical knowledge and skills, and to harden them physically.

The process of patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of Pioneers and school children and their training for work and life prepares them for later participation in national defense training under the Union of Communist Youth.

The Pioneers' organization, the schools and the family have great responsibilities for the communist indoctrination and general education of children to enable them to participate at any time and to the best of their ability in the defense of our people's revolutionary gains.

The national defense training activities are designed to foster feelings of love of country and the party, to prepare the Pioneers and school children for work and life, to form applied technical skills essential to their future occupations as well as national defense, to strengthen the childrens' health, to inculcate application and the ability to overcome difficulties, and to foster resolve, courage and the spirit of order, discipline and mutual aid.

All Romanian education is guided by our party's and state's general policy. One of the aims of the educational process on all levels is the pupils' instruction in our state's policy of peace, collaboration and friendship among all peoples of the world. The Romanian schools teach youth the principles of internationalism, respect for all other peoples, the aims of freedom, independence and sovereignty, and elimination of force or any forms of violence from international affairs.

These policies of Romanian education are helping to carry out our state's policy of peace, disengagement and disarmament by indoctrinating the new generations in the spirit of socialist humanism and active militance for civilization, progress and peace.

By performing its highest duty of serving the people, modern Romanian education is actively contributing to the people's progress toward new heights of civilization and prosperity and is also present in all the people's ideals of freedom, independence and sovereignty and in their unswerving resolve to defend these ideals of theirs against any who would try to infringe upon them.

G. Macovescu Report

/Text/ The problems of war and peace have long concerned human thought, ever since the appearance of war in society. The philosophers of antiquity, Plato, Lucretius and Heraclitus before them, sought answers to the causes of war. But it was not until the end of the Middle Ages that philosophers and politicians began to think more systematically about the many complicated problems of war and peace, stimulated by the material and political consequences of the repeated wars that demonstrated the necessity of placing peace on a more secure basis. To mention only a few, Erasmus (16th century), De Sully, Emeric Cruce, Hugo Grotius and William Penn (17th century), the Abbe de Saint-Pierre, Rousseau and Kant (18th century) studied the problems of an organized peace. In general they came to the conclusion that international law must be established, or an international organization based upon international law.

Similarly, philosophers sought to explain war and its nature and causes. Pre-marxist philosophy produced various answers. Modern bourgeois philosophy formulated many theories (realistic, racist, personalistic, cosmopolitan and biological) as to the nature and causes of war. For example one of the more recent and quite widespread theories attributes wars to the existence of national independent states.

Marxist-Leninist science regards war as a social-historical phenomenon that developed once private property, the antagonistic social classes and the state were established. Lenin defined war as a continuation of policy by other means, namely violent ones. (5) The formulation is that of the Prussian military theorist Clausewitz, but Lenin adopted it and made it the basis of his theory of war in the light of Marx' and Engels' statement that policy expresses the interests of the various classes.

Marxism-Leninism distinguishes between just and unjust wars. In 1919 Lenin gave these definitions to the distinctions Marx and Engels drew between defensive wars, wars of national and social liberation, and wars of invasion. Determination of the nature of a war is important for defining the attitude of the working class, the Communist Party and the socialist state toward a war, toward support or opposition as the case may be.

When will war disappear? It is not a permanent feature of society as the proponents of the biological theory maintain. War is the inevitable accompaniment of any order based upon private property, and it will be completely and finally eliminated with the victory of communism when, as Marx said, there will be "a new society with peace as its international principle, because all nations will have one and the same master, namely labor." (6)

But until then war remains possible.

Our party's and state's position on the problems of peace and war is based upon the general principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, but it is not confined to a mechanical repetition of them. It is founded upon scientific, dialectical-materialist analysis of the contemporary facts, the international situation and the state of development of human society.

This analysis was made at the 11th Party Congress in Nicolae Ceausescu's report bringing out the intense aggravation of the contradictions in the modern world, the new phase of the crisis of the capitalist system, and the shifts in the relations among states and groups of states with their consequences, namely intensified international instability and threats to the security of states, regions and continents, but also the new prospects of revolutionary social reform that these changes offer. (7)

Since there will be an objective basis for wars of aggression as long as imperialism exists and since it is responsible to the people for the defense of their revolutionary gains at any time it is necessary, our party is emphasizing consolidation of national defense and making every effort to provide the army with modern equipment.

Since there are areas of discord and conflict in various parts of the world, our party stresses the point that any war between states creates new complications, impairs international relations, gives rise to new sources of discord, and threatens a war with serious consequences for all mankind. But so far from confining themselves to declarations of policy, our party and state are actively contributing to the political resolution of international conflicts and vehemently militating for peaceful settlement of differences between states as a basic principle of modern international law.

The RST has perfected the destructive capacity of weapons to such an extent that they no longer conform to the traditional definition as means of waging war. They are no longer weapons but purely and simply means of mass destruction. The armaments race, stimulated by the old concepts of peace based upon the balance of power, has reached a critical stage. And this race continues, being about to produce weapons infinitely more destructive than the atomic bomb or the hydrogen bomb. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the perpetuation of the armaments race is creating new and grave dangers to the security of all nations and to international peace. Therefore our party and state are strongly and actively militating for the cessation of the armaments race, for disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament, and for prevention of a world war. As Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "We consider it the most imperious duty of the present generations to concentrate all energies on disarmament, on the exclusion of war from society, and on the elimination of force or the threat of force from international relations. In view of its responsibility to its own people, to the vital interests of our socialist nation, and to the cause of international peace and collaboration, Romania pledges itself to intensify its efforts in active cooperation with all states to achieve the primary goal of our time, the construction of a world without weapons and without wars." (8)

The great revolutionary social and national changes that have been going on in the world are radically shifting the world balance of power in favor of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces. The forces that can promote detente and cooperation and demand the democratic, peaceful solution of the world's complex problems are increasingly asserting themselves, namely the socialist countries with their considerable political, economic, technical-scientific and military strength, the working class and communist parties in the capitalist countries, the many states that have recently won their independence, the national liberation movement, and the movements for peace throughout the world.

Our party's conclusion is that war is not an objective reality about which nothing can be done but is on the contrary avoidable, and that peace can be defended. The shifts in the world balance of power to the disadvantage of imperialism offer real and objective conditions for imposing and consolidating peace. To be sure the transformation of the possibility into reality is not automatic but requires a hard, persevering struggle, and the most important factor for its success is the unity of all those who believe in peace and not in war as a means of resolving international disputes.

Consequently peace must be organized. By peace we do not mean mere absence of war or armed conflict between states. This would be a negative definition. Our party believes peace has a positive aspect. It means full cooperation and collaboration among nations so that all may benefit by the advances and advantages of modern science and technology to raise their material and cultural living standards and consolidate their independence.

To organize peace we must first create the political conditions for it. The achievement of peace depends heavily upon the existence and viability of the national state, the basic cell of the modern international system. Peace lies in the recognition and observance by one state of the sovereignty of all other states. Experience tells us this diversity is an inexhaustible source of international harmony and cooperation.

To our party and state peace means the formation of new international relations on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. These principles have a universal application: They must be observed by all and for all. Modern international law recognizes the nations' right to peace, prohibiting the use of force or the threat of force and imposing the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means.

Our party's view, repeatedly pointed out by Nicolae Ceausescu and borne out by experience, is that "The restoration of the international political climate and the consolidation of world security depend upon the firm establishment and worldwide generalization of the new relations of full equality and mutual respect." (9)

Our party accordingly regards disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament as the fundamental problem of the present period. Every people's development and the life and peaceful future of mankind depend upon it. No real security can be sought today except in disarmament, a fact that must be realized by all nations and especially the European ones, whose continent harbors the greatest concentration of military forces and arsenals and has suffered profoundly from war.

International security and peace are inseparable today and objectively concern all nations of the world. Moreover the new and complex problems of the modern world, presented by the development of man, affect all states. On the other hand every state is responsible not only for its own fate but also for that of humanity as a whole. And there is a growing realization that the solution of international problems in the interest of the peoples calls for the active participation and contribution of all states.

All these objective circumstances call for a universally valid international instrument enabling the states to settle the disputes that arise among them and organize their cooperation to resolve problems of general interest. The United Nations is such an instrument and it can and should be used for this purpose despite its limitations and imperfections, for which the member nations alone are responsible. Social development requires the expansion and consolidation of the United Nations' role in international affairs as well as its adjustment to the new requirements of the modern world.

Our party and state have made it a point of honor to militate for disarmament, to save mankind from an annihilating war, and to secure and organize peace. Our party considers socialism and peace inseparable. By the very nature of its system and by its general ideological and political outlook, socialism actively aspires to international peace and collaboration. In brilliantly summarizing this outlook, the program adopted by the 11th Party Congress provides: "By concentrating their efforts on the improvement of Romanian society, our party and people will actively contribute to the general effort of the progressive forces to inaugurate a new era in international affairs, so that the end of this century will mark the exclusion of wars from international affairs, the liberation of the peoples from the burden of military expenditures and from the nuclear threat, and the fulfillment of all nations' vital aspirations to freedom, prosperity and the conversion of nature and society to man's welfare and happiness." (10)

V. Roman Report

/Text/ I shall not dwell here upon the correlation between the RST and the RTM /technical-military revolution/ because the problem has already been discussed in previous studies. They are clearly interdependent and affect each other. The problem is particularly important because, in the first place, it is hard to establish a simple cause and effect correlation between these two revolutions, which would not be entirely accurate because the RTM in turn affects the development of the RST and in some respects is even the precursor of changes in modern science and technology. And in the second place the historical roots and evolution of these two revolutionary processes have never been directly related to the nature of the social systems in which they occur. What is more, although history has recorded several revolutions both in production technology and in military technology (although they have not always coincided throughout history), the correlations between them have changed over the centuries and today the new military technology is threatening mankind itself, the human species, with destruction. This is because of the militarization of science, which has assumed truly appalling proportions as one of the essential and basic characteristics of the subordination of science to political power. Science has become the main element not only of a state's economic and political power but also of its military power. Research in the military field (to say nothing of military expenditures properly speaking) is receiving greater and increasingly greater allocations than research in other fields.

The problem of the power of the military and the policy of the leading reactionary circles in the imperialist countries is very pressing in this respect (especially in correlation with the possibilities of disarmament and peace. We see this in its true proportions when we consider the imperatives of reproduction of imperialist relationships in the world, since the maintenance and desire to strengthen the imperialist system of inequality, dominance and discrimination lend the military in the imperialist countries a highly important strategic position. And the increasingly pronounced concentration of economic, political and military power in a single hand intensifies these trends even further.

This policy is based upon what Eisenhower called, back in 1961, the existence and consolidation of the so-called "military-industrial complex," to say nothing of the creation and consolidation over the years of what some call "the military-scientific complex." But the combination, in a certain way, of these two fields in a single complex which is actually going on under our eyes can be called the scientific industrial-military complex and actually denotes a process indicative of the capitalist correlation of scientific research and work in both the civilian and military fields.

Scientific research has become highly important to the functioning of the capitalist system. It depends upon political power but it also has a certain autonomy. When we evaluate the effectiveness of science as well as the vitality and possibilities of the capitalist system we cannot overlook the fact that scientific development plays a considerable part both in the reproduction of the capitalist system and in the changes in the forms taken by the class struggle under the present circumstances, although these changes do not automatically depend upon the nature of the modern weapons. Modern science and technology

do not create conflicts, but the perfection of nuclear weapons has lent a new dimension to the problem of war and peace that is quite unprecedented and may cause imbalances leading to apocalyptic catastrophes.

It must be said that the very logic of capitalist reproduction and the demands of the war waged by the imperialist bourgeoisie against various peoples and their own working class to a great extent affect the form and nature of scientific research. To be sure there is a certain interdependence between the economic base, the superstructure (especially the political one) and scientific development, but it does not eliminate the contradictions peculiar to each level that can develop in a way that is relatively autonomous or relatively dependent upon the contradictions of other levels with which they come in contact or interact.

In approaching the problem of the historical evolution of the correlation between science and technology, including military technology, we cannot overlook the fact that the development of society's productive forces, especially in the period of swift development of the natural and technical sciences, has been increasingly characterized by development of the forces of destruction. Under the impact of the RST and the armaments race (especially nuclear, electronic, bacteriological, ecological, long-range and other armaments), the ratio between the productive and destructive forces of society has unhappily shifted in favor of the latter. Modern science has contributed more to destructive forces than productive ones, meaning thereby the productive forces used for military ends. Mastery of natural forces has intensively developed atomic power engineering, electronics, cybernetics, information science, physics of solids, aeronautics, astronautics, oceanography etc., but their advances have been used primarily for military purposes.

As contrasted with the past, when civilian research was also used in the military field, now the reverse is true and military research has civilian uses as secondary effects. This is an increasingly pronounced trend today. It may be said that two basic changes have taken place in technology in the course of a century. The first is the fact that the development of industrial capitalism greatly contributed to the transformation of the strategic maneuver into an industrial maneuver of production of armaments and military equipment, placing the respective countries' economic potential in the service of war. This was true of World War I and more so of World War II. Then a second radical change took place: Scientific-technical research, scientific capitalism so to speak, played an increasingly important part in converting the strategic maneuver into a scientific maneuver, placing the respective countries' scientific potential in the service of war. Scientific research became a strategic weapon or, as some put it, a "national superdefense."

The definition of the scientific objectives to be attained was increasingly subordinated to political objectives, upsetting the traditional research-development-production correlation (cycle). First the characteristics the new (military) products are to have are defined, and then the reverse course is taken toward determining the efforts and level of the scientific studies, thus crystallizing an arbitrary attitude, shall we say, toward research work and discoveries.

But when it comes to exporting arms the process is reversed. The imperialist states' foreign policy does not influence or direct the export of arms, but the reverse is true: Foreign policy increasingly serves the interests of the exporters of armaments.

The problem of militarization of science does not concern the natural and technical sciences alone, but also the social and human sciences. And in these fields too there is an increasingly apparent and pronounced trend toward militarization.

This militarization of the social and human sciences is particularly evident in some areas of major importance. Man's psychophysiological potentials are being investigated. Obviously determination of the psychological and physiological potentials of troops required to act under extraordinary tensions and stresses caused by ultracomplex military equipment is vital to determining the limits of tolerance of these stresses.

Selection, training and improvement of leaders are another concern of the specialists in the social sciences. Use of systemic analysis is widespread. Selection of certain people with certain qualities is involved in their assignment to various specialties. Nothing is left to chance any more.

Psychophysiological engineering, an interdisciplinary field, is concerned with production and operation of military equipment and armaments in the light of individual propensities. The matter of psychophysiological engineering is becoming more important as military equipment becomes more complex.

Study of the social and cultural situation in various countries which the imperialist countries intend to penetrate or with which they contemplate a possible war is another objective of the social sciences in these countries. Among these objectives particular importance is naturally attached to study of the socialist countries.

The social sciences are also concerned with study of the political planning of both their own countries and those of potential enemies.

All this indicates clearly the growing trend toward militarization of the social sciences. It is also clear that the socialist countries must also pay more attention, as they are doing, to the use of the social sciences to solve the problems of defense of the socialist system.

M. Florescu Report

/Text/ The RST is one of the basic changes of the modern period and a general result of the interdependence between science and production. It originates in the constantly growing, varied and complex requirements for improvement of production along with its further development and concentration, for intensifying its social character, and for raising labor productivity through mechanization and automation of manufacturing processes and introduction of cybernetic computing means. These requirements can only be met by perfecting the production process through extensive and immediate use of scientific progress.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his address at the opening of the 39th International Congress of Industrial Chemistry held in Bucharest in 1970, "As we know, in our time of widespread RST, which is swiftly changing the conditions of physical production and increasing to an unheard of extent the possibilities of exploiting natural resources for the benefit of man, the construction and development of a modern economy and provision for progress critically depend upon development of every country's scientific potential and the efficiency and alacrity with which the new scientific and technical advances are promoted in practical activity. Chemistry has a special place among the sciences, primarily because of its wide application and the many uses of its data."

Occupying an intermediate position between the microstructure of the particles in the physics of high energies and the biological macrostructure, chemistry is making a great contribution to the scientific substantiation of the dialectical-materialist view of the world as one of the most dynamic factors for greater physical production and technical progress.

It is chemistry's task to help resolve some of mankind's major problems of supplementing food, water and energy resources and protecting the environment, or in other words to help secure the highest possible living standard. By virtue of its contribution to the working and social relationships of man to his environment and to physical and cultural production, the chemical industry is one of the most active factors determining every aspect of the quality of life. Under the RST it has shown an explosive development, strikingly demonstrating its great potentials for action upon matter and the structural processes while exerting a decisive influence upon the development of modern society as a great producer of material values.

The social role of the chemical industry, alongside that of the other industrial branches, is also manifested in its contribution to the implementation of the Directives of the 11th Party Congress concerning the policy of improving all regions of Romania and bettering the geographic distribution of the productive forces for the socioeconomic development of the formerly backward regions.

In this connection, the principle stated by Nicolae Ceausescu at the 11th Party Congress to the effect that the 1976-1980 plan "shall become the five-year plan of the RST and of widespread promotion of the latest advances and knowledge in all branches and sectors of Romanian industry" is a clear and definite policy for the practical application of the great scientific-technical advances to production, as well as the most effective nonpollutant processes with low energy inputs.

The Directives of the 11th Party Congress provide a higher growth rate in 1976-1980 for the branches making better use of natural resources, namely the machine building and chemical industries, which will account for over half the national industrial output in 1980. These developmental levels will be achieved through technological research and development programs, introduction of modern processes based on the latest advances in chemical engineering, and testing and application to production of inventions and the most important discoveries in science and technology, while also providing for the competitive power of our own processes on the world market and the export of industrial capacities and technologies of our own design.

Alongside the modern RST we are also witnessing an RTM marked by radical qualitative changes in technical combat means, in the organizational structure of the troops, and in the methods of conducting war and combat actions.

There is a close correlation between the RST and the RTM, and scientific-technical progress affects the directions of development of the RTM, chief among which it is sufficient to mention destructive power and the means of using this power, directly dependent upon the potential of the chemical industry, while the military inventions have some effect upon the development of science and technology in general.

Many advances of science and technology and of the chemical industry especially are widely used in the military field. The very appearance of chemical weapons was due in particular to the development of the chemical industry toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

The combat means the chemical industry can produce include the toxic combat substances, incendiaries, pyrotechnic smoke producers, explosives etc. The toxic substances have an extraordinary power for widespread destruction of life.

The toxic combat substances were first used by the Germans on 22 April 1915 between Bixschoote and Langenmark in the area of the Ypres River in Belgium.

The considerable destructive effects of the intense power obtained caused the great powers engaged in this war to use chemical weapons on a wide scale.

During World War I 39 toxic combat substances were used, totaling 125,000 tons. The losses caused are estimated at about 1.3 million men, 90,000 of whom died.

Upon worldwide protest after the end of the war the "Protocol Prohibiting Stifling, Poisonous or Similar Gases and Bacterial Means" was signed in Geneva on 17 June 1925. Nevertheless in the following period intensive research was done in this field.

In 1934 the German chemist Schrader synthesized the first organophosphoric toxic combat substance (ethyl dimethylamidocyanphosphate) called by the code name of "tabun."

By the end of the war two more even more virulent toxic combat substances were prepared in Germany, namely "sarin" (isopropyl methylfluorophosphonate) and "seman" (pinacolyl methylfluorophosphonate).

At the end of World War II in Germany alone the capacity of the installations for making toxic (organophosphoric) or neuromuscular combat substances amounted to 20,000 tons a year, including 7,200 tons of sarin (the installations at Dyhernfurth on the Oder and Falkenhagen).

After World War II the Swedish chemist I. E. Tammadin developed a series of compounds of a much greater toxicity than sarin or soman, known by the code name of type "V" substances (dimethylaminothioethyl methylethoxyphosphonate).

Besides building large capacities for producing neuromuscular toxic combat substances, some capitalist countries have emphasized diversification of their chemical means through preparation of the psychochemical substances LSD-25 (diethylamide of lysergic acid) and BZ (3-kinuclidinol benzylate) with a hallucinogenic or depressing effect, as well as the irritants of the CS (2-chlorobenzalmonitrile) type. The arsenal of chemical weapons has been supplemented with some incendiary means like the "incendiary missiles" or the so-called "fire balloons," designed for mass extermination or destruction of ecological systems. These incendiary missiles develop a temperature of 2,300°C and are effective over a radius of several kilometers.

During the aggression in Vietnam psychochemical and irritant toxic combat substances of the "V" type were used, as well as various incendiary means, making a chemical testing ground of this country with its population. By virtue of its extent and annihilating effects, the chemical warfare waged in Vietnam can be rightly regarded as "the first armed conflict in the modern history of the world wherein the biologic environment was deliberately and systematically destroyed." The very testing of these weapons is harmful to mankind, as it is considered one of the possible causes of climatic change and the increasingly frequent natural disasters in various regions of the world (floods and drought, the 1° drop in soil temperature, the 12 percent growth of the strata of ice and snow at the North Pole compared with 1940, etc.).

The subordination of scientific research to aggressive purposes and the narrow class interests of the imperialist circles, the creation of new capacities for producing weapons of mass destruction, the preparation of major sectors of economic production (organophosphoric insecticides) for conversion to military production under certain circumstances, and the manufacture and accumulation of large quantities of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological means justifiably disturb the peace loving peoples of the world and sound a loud alarm in view of their extraordinary destructive force.

Worldwide public opinion is protesting the use of the major achievements of science and technology, the results of the modern RST, to create means of destroying people, the ecological balance, fauna and flora instead of their use for peaceful purposes, for man's happiness and welfare, and for the solution of the vital problems confronting mankind.

The annual outlays on armament now amount to over \$300 billion. Allocation to peaceful purposes of only 10-15 percent of the present total military expenditures would permit the eradication in a single decade of the ancient scourges that still afflict hundreds of millions of people, such as starvation, poverty, diseases and illiteracy.

The Romanian people, engaged in construction of the fully developed socialist society in Romania, vitally interested in creating a climate of peace and security, and imbued with a high sense of responsibility for the future of world peace, are actively contributing to the struggle to finally eliminate the policy of force and war from our society.

Romania's position on the subject of disarmament demands, as an imperative of our times, the prohibition and elimination of all weapons of mass destruction,

whether nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, radiological or other. In the report to the 11th Party Congress Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a rousing appeal to all states, governments and peoples of the world "to take responsible action before it is too late to save humanity from a destructive war and to solve all international problems through peaceful negotiations in the interest of all nations."

Romania's policy on the disarmament problem strikingly expresses the dialectical unity between the objectives of socialism and the general aims of international peace and collaboration.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech to the Basic Command and Party Activists in the Army," SCINTEIA No 10613, 3 October 1976.
2. Law No 14 of 1972, p 4.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech to the Basic Command and Party Activists in the Army," SCINTEIA No 10613, 3 October 1976.
4. Cf. "Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania," Article 43.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 26, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1964, pp 223 and 318.
6. K. Marx and Fr. Engels, "Works," Vol 17, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1963, p 7.
7. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 11, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1975, pp 16-18.
8. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 12, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1976, pp 321-322.
9. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 10, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1974, p 143.
10. "The RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism," in Vol "The 11th Party Congress of 25-28 November 1974," Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1975, p 747.
11. V. Roman, "The Scientific-Technical Revolution and the Technical-Military Revolution," report read at the scientific session of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, December 1960, and published in BULETINUL INSTITUTULUI POLITEHNIC BUCURESTI, Vol XXIII, No 2, 1961 and "Science and Technology in the Era of Society's Transition from Capitalism to Communism," Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1962, pp 345-419.